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ABSTRACT

Articles in this first special focus issue in Cross Currents' 18-year history include the following: "Courses or Resources" (Alan Maley); "Linguistic Pragmatics and English Language Learning" (S. Kathleen Kitao); "Arriving at the Himalayan Range: Language Learning and Teacher Training" (Subhash Jain); "The Fear of Making Errors (Keiko Nonaka); and "Politics and the Modern English Language" (Thomas Clayton). Four somewhat brief articles are contained in the section headed "Bright Ideas." They are: "Note Taking" (David Wardell); "Task Writing for Conversation Courses" (N. Ann Chenoweth); "Teaching with Imperfect Language" (Curtis Chapman); and "The Skit Project: Teaching Cultural Communication Patterns" (Mika Miyasone, Daniel J. Eichhorst). The final section consists of a series of articles focusing on professionalism in English language teaching and presented as a forum. Titles are as follows: "Introductory Remarks" (Thomas Clayton); "International TESOL: An Argument for Certification" (Janet Anderson-Hsieh); "Against an International TESOL License" (Thomas Graham); "Matters of Professionalism and the Degree in TESOL" (John Staczek); "Pilgrims, Progress, and Professionalism in TESOL" (Keith Maurice); "International Standards for ESL Teachers: An Agenda and Recommendations" (Rene Cisneros, Elizabeth Leone); "What Did Isadora Duncan and Einstein Have in Common?" (Robert O'Neill); "The Importance of Grammar in ESL Teacher Education" (Patrick Duffley); "Japanese University Hiring Practices and the Masters in TEFL" (Michael Redfield); "Some Thai Perspectives on TESOL Professionalism" (Acharapan Leanhanathavuth); and "The Teacher-Researcher: Personal Reflections" (John Swales). (MSE)

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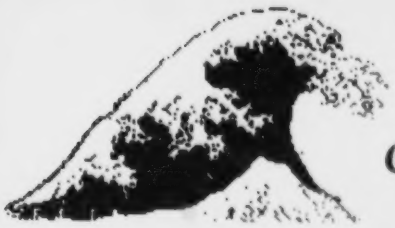

ABOUT CROSS CURRENTS

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Areas of Interest. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly interested in issues concerned with both theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL acquisition and instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, international English language teaching with special emphasis on Japan, and English as an International Language.

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Articles. Submissions should be ten to 20 pages in length and should address some issue relevant to our areas of interest. *Cross Currents* appreciates scholarship in a variety of forms, though the publication of clear, insightful, and thought-provoking writing is our primary goal. In the past, we have published articles ranging in style from personal, authoritative opinions, to reviews of published literature in particular TESOL fields, to academic research studies. All submissions should be accessible to a diverse audience.

Bright Ideas. Submissions should be five to ten pages in length and should discuss practical English language classroom successes and ideas clearly and simply for the benefit of interested language teachers.

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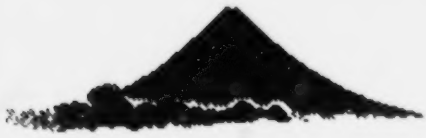

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Volume 17, Number 1 is the first special focus issue in *Cross Currents*' history. We have collected a wide variety of responses to last issue's editorial and present them here as the forum "Professionalism in International English Language Teaching." We are very pleased to be able to offer this forum and its many opinions to the *Cross Currents* audience. The forum begins on page 65; individual articles are discussed in the introductory essay.

Cross Currents' lead article, "Courses or Resources," examines the failings of published English language teaching courses. Author Alan Maley, page 11, suggests a number of options for teachers to use in compensating for these failings. The article concludes with a set of generalizable procedures which teachers can use both to analyze published materials and to generate their own.

"Linguistic Pragmatics and English Language Learning" provides a overview of linguistic pragmatics and speech act theory. In her article, page 15, author S. Kathleen Kitao demonstrates the importance of knowledge of these fields for TESOL professionals. The article includes practical applications for the Japanese English language classroom.

The third article in this issue of *Cross Currents* is "Arriving at the Himalayan Range: Conceptualizing Teacher Education." In this article, author Subhash Jain examines current approaches to English education in India and discusses areas which need improvement. All *Cross Currents* readers will be interested in this essay, page 23, as its appeal—and message—is not limited to India alone.

"The Fear of Making Errors," page 29, is a descriptive study designed to examine the effects of Japanese language learners' fear of making errors on language acquisition. Author Keiko Nonaka discusses her findings and makes appropriate suggestions for improving both the methodology and the atmosphere of Japanese English language classrooms.

The final article in this issue of *Cross Currents* is "Politics and the Modern English Language." In this essay, *Cross Currents*' editor Thomas Clayton considers the political uses of language in general and English in specific and draws conclusions that are pertinent to teachers of English to speakers of other languages. Clayton's essay begins on page 37.

Cross Currents presents four Bright Ideas in this issue. "Note Taking" by David Wardell begins on page 49. In this article, the author outlines a workable and effective method of teaching note taking to Japanese ESL learners. Materials for three difficulty levels are provided for the reader.

"Task Writing for Conversation Courses" discusses writing assignments which can supplement the oral exercises in a typical conversation class. Author N. Ann Chenoweth includes a number of sample writing tasks. Her article begins on page 53.

"Teaching With Imperfect Language," page 56, suggests an approach to English language teaching that encourages both linguistic and paralinguistic production. Author Curtis Chapman diagrams a very complete method for this novel and interesting idea.

"The Skit Project: Teaching Cultural Communication Patterns" presents an approach to teaching some differences between Japanese communication patterns and English communication patterns. Authors Mika Miyasone and Daniel J. Eichhorst designed this method for use in a typical team-teaching classroom. Their article begins on page 60.

Finally, *Cross Currents*' book review section, page 99, has been significantly increased with this issue. We present six reviews of pertinent ESL materials for interested readers.

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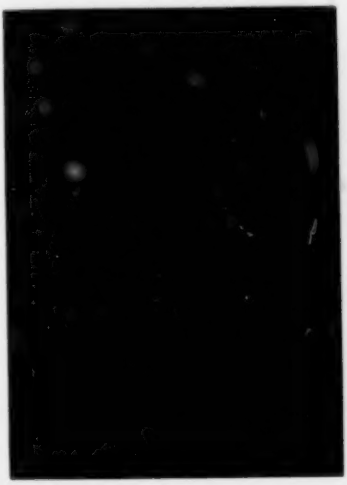

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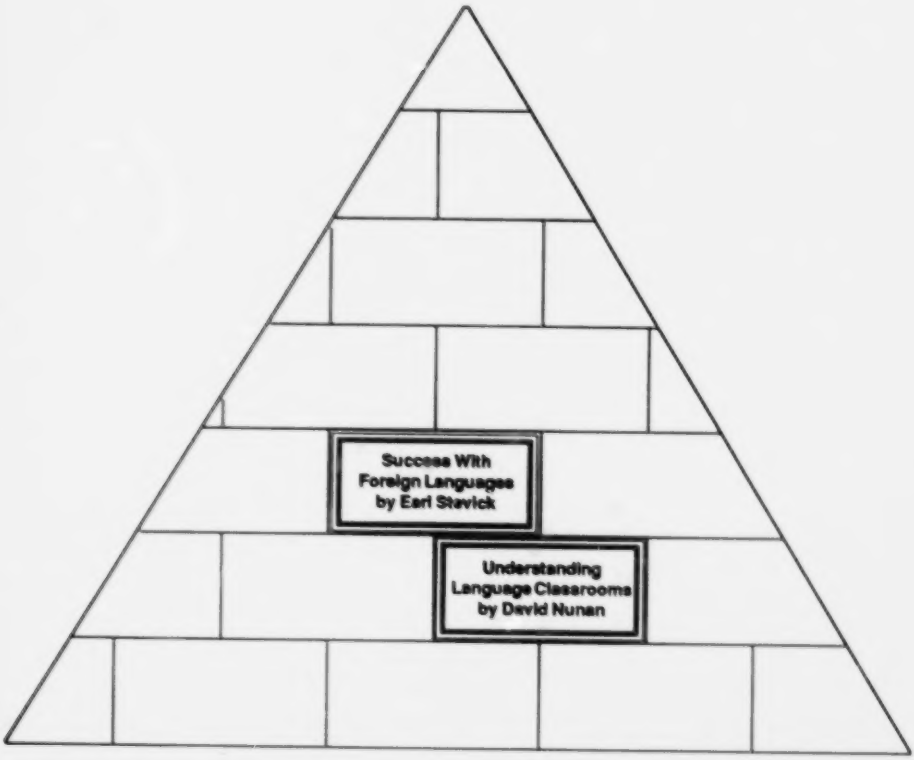

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Courses or Resources

Alan Maley

In this article I shall attempt to show that the widespread use of published language courses appears to be at variance with current thinking on the nature of learners and learning. I shall review a number of possible alternatives to the full-scale use of course books and suggest one set of generalizable procedures for those who wish to develop their own materials.

What We Know About Learners/Learning

Our ignorance about learning is vastly greater than our knowledge. But some things we do know. We know for instance that learners do not always learn what we teach them and that, conversely, they sometimes learn things we have *not* taught them. In other words, although we may have a clear plan or syllabus, the *input* from this syllabus does not necessarily coincide with student *intake*.

We also know that learning is rarely linear or mechanical. That is, learners do not often learn things in a regular one-step-at-a-time way. Instead they may proceed in irregular jumps, often with long periods of apparent stagnation between them. And they need to return repeatedly to old material so as to fit into it the new information they are exposed to. Learning then is recursive and organic.

We know too that all learners are different (as indeed are all teachers). They begin courses with different initial levels. They progress at different rates. They have different preferred learning styles. Their personal interests are different. Indeed the contexts of learning are also different from one group to another, depending on factors such as group size, economic level, and cultural background.

What We Know About Courses

We know a good deal more about courses (i.e. textbooks) than we do about learning. We know that courses are based on some form of predetermined arrangement of the material to be taught. That is to say, there is a syllabus, whether it be organized on structural, functional, topic, or task lines. Courses therefore necessarily also predetermine the order of items, the format of presentation, and the contents. It is of the very essence of course books that they contain something and that this something is presented in a particular order. In other words, all the key choices have already been pre-empted by the writers/publishers of the course.

The Paradox

There would seem to be an inconsistency between what we know about learners and learning and the nature of the materials from which they are expected to learn. On one hand we know that input does not equal intake, that learning is not linear, and that all learners are different. Yet on the other, course books are designed so that groups in a variety of contexts proceed at the same pace through materials which are pre-set in content, format, and order.

This seems mildly curious at a time when notions of learner independence, including self-access centres and learner training, and teacher development, with its emphasis on independent action by the teacher, are so much in vogue: for the published course, while it may require interpretation and mediation, does little or nothing to foster either learner independence or teacher development.

Possible Teacher Options

For many teachers, most options have al-

Alan Maley is Director-General of the Bell Educational Trust in Cambridge, England. He is the author and editor of numerous English as a second language texts and teacher resource books.

ready been foreclosed: They are obliged to work with the course chosen for them by others higher in the hierarchy. For them, only cosmetic changes may be possible (see Options 1 and 2 below). Others however may have the opportunity to make more radical changes (see Options 3, 4, and 5 below).

1. *The Wet Friday Afternoon Option*

Most, if not all, teachers introduce additional material not in the course book simply to restore interest when it is flagging or to provide light relief for both teacher and learners at the end of a week or a term. This sort of material typically includes songs, rhymes, games (e.g. Hangman—that timeless standby for tired teachers), newspaper pictures, comic strips, cartoons or articles, and off-air recordings. Such additional material is generally no more than cosmetic, though the enterprising teacher can make it a regular part of his/her lessons.

2. *The Teacher-Tinkering Option*

Some more adventurous teachers may move beyond Option 1 to tinker with the material of the course book itself. Having carefully studied the material contained within the course book and reflected on their intimate knowledge of their learners' needs, they may decide either to omit certain sections or to move through the book in an order different from the one laid down by its author. If they are really enterprising, they may even venture to adapt some of the exercise material to suit their particular learners' needs. But, as in Option 1, this is no more than a superficial change.

3. *The Modular Option*

The teacher, if he/she is free to do so, may decide not to use a single course book at all. Instead, a course is put together from material available in one of the several skills series now on the market. Typically the teacher will assess the average level of his/her class in each of the skill areas. A choice will then be made of a book at an appropriate level for each of the skills concerned. For example, the teacher may select a level 1 book for writing, level 2 for speaking and listening, and level 3 for reading.

In this way, the teacher puts together his/her own course from a set of modular building blocks. Although this undoubtedly makes for greater flexibility, it does also incur potential disadvantages. Teachers need to be highly skilled and experienced in order to make appropriate choices. There may be little or no coherence between one skill area and another. And within any skill module, the choices have in any case still been pre-empted by the writer. Nonetheless, it is an option which many teachers operate successfully.

4. *The Quarryman/Cobbler Option*

In this option, the teacher decides to treat a range of existing textbooks and teacher resource books as a quarry from which he/she hews whatever material is deemed appropriate. These blocks of material are then cobbled together by the teacher in an appropriate order for a given group of learners. Increasing numbers of teachers are choosing this option, which has an added attraction: Much of the material so chosen can be made available to students for independent learning through a self-access facility (Sheerin, 1989; reviewed on page 106 of this volume). It does, however, require both skill and courage on the part of the teacher who adopts this approach.

5. *The Process Option*

In this option, the teacher makes a radical decision not to use materials at all. Instead, he/she sets the scene for a *process* to take place in which the learners will themselves provide the *content*. Only the well-trained and experienced will usually venture to adopt the process option, though many teachers use it at least part of the time. I will discuss three examples to clarify this approach.

The first example is *Project Work*. In project work, the teacher simply sets up a project for the learners to work on. For example, they might be asked to produce a booklet describing the facilities available to disabled people in the local community. To do this, they will need to discuss their plan of action, read

documents, interview people outside the school, discuss how to present their findings, and go through several drafts of the written document. The teacher is of course available throughout to provide any material which will assist with the process, but none of this is predetermined (Fried-Booth, 1987; Davis, 1989).

The second example is *Community Language Learning* (CLL). In the CLL approach, learners sit in a circle. When they wish to say something in the foreign language, they ask the teacher in a whisper how to say it. As they say it, it is recorded. Gradually a conversational dialogue builds up. After some time, the tape is replayed and forms the basis for the language work. The teacher provides the context (and the linguistic forms); the learners determine their own content (Stevick, 1980).

The third example is *Drama Techniques*. There is now a large body of material describing techniques which stimulate learners to produce spontaneous language through placing them in "dramatic" situations (Maley & Duff, 1980). Here too only the technique is provided by the teacher; the content is unpredictable and is provided by the learners.

Generative Procedures

One of the major problems encountered by teachers wishing to take up Process Options 3, 4, or 5 is that they may be overwhelmed by the sheer volume and variety of materials and techniques currently on offer (Maley, 1984).

In this section, I would like to suggest one way of dealing with this problem. It consists in identifying certain key generalizable procedures under which are grouped a variety of detailed actual manifestations. This is analogous to the zoological distinction between genotypes and phenotypes. The genotype describes the genetic features of a whole species, whereas the phenotypes are the actual and different realizations in individual members of the species. All cows are cows by genotype, but each cow is phenotypically different from every other cow. They may be white, brown, big, small, furry, sleek, horned, and so on. And so it is with generative procedures. For example, the generalizable procedure I have called *Reconstruction* can manifest itself as gap-filling, reordering, unscrambling, and so on.

It is convenient to consider ten such generalizable procedures (Duff & Maley, 1990), though there is nothing magic or immutable about the number ten. In all the following procedures, I am using "text" in preference to the now commonly used term "input." A "text" could be written, spoken, or visual.

1. *Reconstruction*. Here students are presented with an incomplete or defective text and asked to restore it to a complete or plausible form. For example, the lines in a poem are jumbled up and students re-arrange them; or two brief newspaper articles are spliced together and students untangle them.

2. *Reduction*. Students are asked to shorten texts in a variety of ways. For example, they remove certain items of grammar, such as adverbs; or they remove a character from a story.

3. *Expansion*. Students add items to a text. For example, they expand a narrative text by adding what came before it or what comes after it; or they expand a mini-text into a full version of the story based on their own experience.

4. *Replacement*. Students remove certain items and replace them with others. For example, they replace one dominant tense by another; or they change the tone of a text (as from optimistic to pessimistic).

5. *Matching*. Here they must find correspondences between two sets of items. For example, they match titles with the texts to which they belong; or they match "mystery" texts with possible explanations.

6. *Media Transfer*. This involves the transfer of information in a text from one medium or format into another. For example, information from an article is transferred into visual form (as chart, diagram, or graph); or a newspaper article is transformed into a poem.

7. *Selection.* Students make a choice according to some specific criterion or purpose. For example, they look for a quotation within a text which could serve as the title for the whole text; or they decide which of three or four texts is the "odd man out."

8. *Ranking.* Here a decision has to be made about the ordering of texts as most to least suitable for a given purpose or criterion. For example, students create a most-to-least grammatically complex order; or they create a most-to-least suitable order for phrases in a political speech or advertisement.

9. *Comparison/Contrast.* Two texts are presented in parallel for various types of comparison and contrast. For example, two different newspaper articles reporting the same event are examined. Which points are included in one and not the other? Which shows more bias? Or two translations into English of a text in the students' mother tongue are examined. Which is more accurate and appropriate? Which words occur in both translations?

10. *Analysis.* This involves submitting the text to some form of analytic processing. For example, students count the number of single-word verbs/phrasal verbs; or students list all the formal/informal words in a text.

Teachers can use a scheme like this to *analyse* the welter of materials they are faced with—many course books use a very narrow range of procedures. They can also use it to *generate* materials of their own. The scheme can also be used as a handy *reference filing system* for a materials bank.

Future Applications

One possible use of the generative procedures idea would be to devise quite different kinds of future published materials. In book form, there would be two major sections. The first section would be an introduction for the user setting out the ten generative procedures with examples of each. Depending on circumstances, this would be addressed either to the teacher or to the learner directly. The second section would be a rich selection of texts—written, spoken, or visual. The content of these text selections would, in theory, be infinite since it would comprise all conceivable texts.

Theoretically, any generative procedure could be applied to any text. The teacher would therefore be able to make up his/her own unique course by combining a generative procedure from the introduction with a text from the second section. Order, format, and content decisions would be made by the teacher in the light of learning needs at a given moment.

Conclusion

In an ideal world, this scheme would be extended beyond book format, to the self-access mode, where it would be the learner rather than the teacher who would, after suitable learner training, select both procedure and text to suit him/herself.

Is all this utopian? Perhaps it is. Yet it does offer at least one possible resource-based alternative to the straitjacket of courses.

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Linguistic Pragmatics and English Language Learning

S. Kathleen Kitao

The field of linguistic pragmatics has been defined in a wide variety of ways (Levinson, 1983). In this paper, the definition I will use will be "the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding" (Levinson, 1983, p. 21). This definition implies that understanding an utterance involves more than understanding words and grammatical structures. Understanding also involves making inferences connecting what is said to what is mutually assumed or known, or to what has been said previously. Pragmatics is therefore essentially concerned with inference.

To give one example to illustrate this point, if a mother says to her son, "Did you do your homework and put away your books?" and he replies, "I put away my books," any native English speaker would understand that the son's reply means he didn't do his homework. In isolation, nothing in the grammar of "I put away my books" includes that meaning. Therefore, if all native speakers understand this, there must be a system by which they understand the utterance. If there were no system, different hearers would understand the reply differently (personal communication, DeCarrico, J., July, 1984).

Linguistics and Pragmatics

The traditional focus of linguistics has been the study of isolated phonemes, morphemes, words, and sentences. Now most linguists agree, however, that grammatical knowledge is only one of several factors of the comprehension process. Other factors include physical setting, background knowledge, and sociocultural assumptions (Gumperz, 1977).

As Grice (1957) pointed out, what is meant by a particular sentence is not necessarily what a speaker means by that sentence when it is spoken in a particular context. Grice differentiates between *sentence meaning* (what a sentence means in isolation) and *speaker meaning* (what a speaker means by a sentence). To use an example from Clark and Lucy (1975), a sergeant who asks a private, "Do you see that cigarette butt there, soldier?" does not want an answer to that explicit question. He wants the cigarette butt picked up. A soldier who answered the literal question without following the implied order would be considered insolent, even though nothing in the literal meaning of the question includes an order to pick up the cigarette butt. The speaker meaning, then, is something more than the sentence meaning.

Conversational implicature

Grice (1967, 1975) proposed the notion of conversational implicature that has become the basis for much of the work in pragmatics. Conversational implicature is what speakers imply in interaction. Conversational implicature is based on the *Cooperative Principle* and the four maxims that support it. The Cooperative Principle states that, as a speaker, you should "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975, p. 45).

The maxims which support the Cooperative Principle are:

> *Quantity*: Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange. Do not con-

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tribute more information than is required.

Quality: Do not say that which you believe to be false or that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant.

Manner: Be perspicuous; Avoid obscurity; Be brief; Be orderly; Be Polite.

Grice distinguished between *violating* and *flouting* a maxim. Violating a maxim refers to failing to follow a maxim unintentionally and without any communicative intent, for example, giving irrelevant information due to a misunderstanding of a question. In such cases, the speaker does not intend to communicate anything by not following the maxim. In contrast, flouting a maxim means failing to follow a maxim on purpose and with the intent to communicate something. Grice was not interested in violations of maxims; he was interested in how speakers use the flouting of maxims to communicate meaning.

In the previously cited example (Mother: "Have you done your homework and put away your books?" Son: "I've put away my books"), the mother is asking for certain information—whether her son has done his homework and put away his books. However, he does not follow the maxim of quantity. His reply is less informative than required; it does not supply all of the information that she has asked for. Flouting the maxim of quantity by not giving sufficient information generally implicates negative information. Therefore, the mother understands that the son is communicating that he did not do his homework.

Speech acts

According to Richards (1980), speech acts can be described as

> the things we actually do when we speak. When we engage in conversation we perform such acts as giving reports, making statements, warning, promising, approving, suggesting, criticizing, requesting and so on. A speech act can be defined as the minimal unit of speaking which can be said to have a function. (p. 417)

Austin (1962) and Searle (1979) distinguished between locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. A locutionary act is the utterance; an illocutionary act is what the speaker means by the utterance (similar to Grice's speaker meaning); a perlocutionary act is the effect that the utterance has on the hearer. As Fraser (1983) expressed it, "When we use language, we characteristically do three things: 1) we say something; 2) we indicate how we intend the hearer to take what we have said; and 3) we have definite effects on the hearer as a result" (p. 30).

Another distinction made by speech act theorists is between direct and indirect speech acts. A direct speech act is an utterance in which the locutionary force and the illocutionary force are the same. An indirect speech act is one in which the illocutionary force includes some meaning in addition to the locutionary force. "Please close the door" would be a direct speech act, since the locutionary force and the illocutionary force are the same. If "Can you close the door?" is used as a request, it would be an indirect speech act. The locutionary force is a question about the hearer's ability to close the door. However, the speaker does not only want to know whether the hearer has the ability to close the door. The speaker is making a request that the hearer close the door. This distinction is vital; if the hearer cannot make the distinction, he/she will not be able to comprehend an indirect speech act.

Three issues in comprehension

Even before dealing with the issue of the illocutionary force of a speech act, three other issues must be resolved in order to understand what the speaker means: 1) the sense of the utterance; 2) the identity of the objects in the real world referred to by the speaker; and 3) whether or not the speaker was speaking literally or figuratively (Fraser, 1983).

The first issue involves ambiguity. A sentence may have more than one meaning, in purely grammatical terms, independent of its context. For example, the sentence "The police stopped drinking at midnight" has at least

two meanings. It can mean that the police stopped someone else from drinking at midnight, or it can mean that the police themselves stopped drinking at midnight. Part of determining the meaning of a particular utterance includes determining the speaker's intended semantic interpretation.

The second factor in understanding an utterance is the issue of what objects the referring terms refer to. For example, where is "there"? When is "then"? Who is "she"? In the sentence "John and David had an argument, and he hit him," it is not clear whether John or David was the one who did the hitting. In other cases, the pronoun and the antecedent might be widely separated. Without being able to identify the antecedents of pronouns, the hearer cannot understand the meaning of an utterance, even if any ambiguities in the utterance are resolved.

The third factor is the literal versus figurative use of language. If the speaker is speaking figuratively, the hearer's task involves the semantic interpretation of the linguistic expression. According to Fraser (1983), the hearer assumes that the expression is intended literally unless there is contrary evidence.

The question is, how does the hearer recognize whether the speaker is speaking figuratively? Sometimes, the speaker gives cues such as "At the risk of exaggerating..." or "In a manner of speaking..." to notify the hearer that the utterance is intended figuratively. However, there are other ways that the hearer can tell that the utterance is not intended literally. For example, some utterances are semantically anomalous, transparently false, or self-contradictory. The hearer would recognize that the sentence "The future is now" contradicts itself and cannot be taken literally; the hearer would therefore search for a figurative meaning. Also, some expressions are, in their literal senses, too obvious to make expressing them necessary. For example, "No man is an island" and "I wasn't born yesterday" are so obvious in their literal senses that the speaker would not use them literally; and again, the hearer would search for a figurative meaning.

In Grice's terms, if we assume that the speaker is following the Cooperative Principle, he/she would not say things that are not true (maxim of quality), that are so obvious that it is not necessary to put them into words (maxim of relation), or that give more information than is necessary (maxim of quantity). If the speaker is flouting one of the maxims, the hearer may assume a figurative meaning.

The inference process

Beyond the question of whether the utterance is intended literally or figuratively is the question of whether the illocutionary force of an utterance is different from the locutionary force, and if so, what the illocutionary force is. To illustrate the inference process, Searle (1975, p. 33) used the following example:

> Student A: Let's go to the movies tonight.
> Student B: I have to study for an exam.

Student A's utterance is a proposal in which the locutionary force and illocutionary force are the same (direct speech act) by virtue of the word "let's." That is, in most utterances "let's" indicates a proposal.

In contrast, Student B's utterance would be taken as a refusal, even though there is nothing in the locutionary force of "I have to..." that indicates a refusal in the same sense that "let's" indicates a proposal. For example, "I have to eat popcorn tonight" or "I have to tie my shoes" would not indicate a refusal in the way that "let's" indicates a proposal.

Searle (1979) described the steps that he believed Student A would have to go through unconsciously to derive the illocution of the utterance from the locution.

> *Step 1:* I have made a proposal to Student B, and in response he has made a statement to the effect that he has to study for an exam (facts about the conversation).
> *Step 2:* I assume that Student B is cooperating in the conversation and that therefore his remark is intended to be relevant (the Cooperative Principle).
> *Step 3:* A relevant response must be one of

acceptance, rejection, or counterproposal (theory of speech acts).

Step 4: But his literal utterance was not one of these and so was not a relevant response (inference from Steps 1 and 3).

Step 5: Therefore, he probably means more than he says. Assuming that his remark is relevant, illocutionary meaning must differ from locutionary meaning (inference from Steps 2 and 4). *Step 5 is vital. If B cannot recognize that the locutionary and illocutionary forces are different, he will not be able to make the inference.*

Step 6: I know that studying for an exam normally takes a large amount of time relative to a single evening, and I know that going to the movies normally takes a large amount of time relative to a single evening (background information).

Step 7: Therefore, he probably cannot go to the movies and study for an exam in one evening (inference from Step 6).

Step 8: A preparatory condition on the acceptance of a proposal is the ability to perform the propositional content condition act (speech act theory).

Step 9: Therefore, I know that he has said something with the consequence that he probably cannot consistently accept the proposal (inference from Steps 1, 7, 8).

Step 10: Therefore, the illocutionary meaning of the utterance is probably to reject the proposal. (pp. 34-35)

As Searle also pointed out, some indirect speech acts have become conventionalized. For example, if I wanted to ask someone to open the window, I might say, "Can you open the window?" The form "Can you...?" has become a conventionalized request, though there are other situations where it would not be a request. For example, "Can you open the window?" might be used as a suggestion in a context where someone is complaining that a room is often stuffy, or it might be used as a request for information about a room.

The illocutionary force of these three uses of "Can you open the window?" would, according to Searle, be determined by the hearer, using a series of inferences similar to the ones detailed for the reply to the proposal about going out to the movies.

Some theorists, however, believe that hearers comprehend conventionalized forms without having to go through this process of inference. Gibbs (1979) argued that when the illocutionary force is clear from context, the hearer is able to process the illocutionary force without resorting to first comprehending the locutionary force and going through the inference process. According to Gibbs, it is only if the conventional form is used for one of its less common functions (e.g., "Can you...?" for making a suggestion rather than a request) that the inference process is used.

Schema theory and pragmatic comprehension

Kasper (1984) used *schemata* to help explain pragmatic comprehension. Schemata are knowledge structures that tell what is essential, typical, and possible in different situations (van Dijk, 1977). They are organized hierarchically, from general and abstract (e.g., social norms and values) to specific (e.g., grammatical and semantic rules).

In comprehension, the hearer may interpret data in two ways. One way to process information is to start with what the speaker says and use that to activate lower-order schemata (i.e., knowledge of grammatical forms and meanings of words). Based on this understanding of what the speaker said, the hearer activates higher-order schemata about the overall speaker meaning and the situation. Because this method moves from lower-order to higher-order schemata, it is called *bottom-up processing*. On the other hand, the hearer may start with the higher-order schemata and search for data to match them. This strategy is called *top-down processing*. In conventional situations, where there are strong expectations, the hearer is more likely to use the top-down strategy since there is a strong basis on which to choose the higher-order schemata.

Ideally, there is an interaction between the two processes. In top-down processing, the hearer misses many details and may have difficulty due to choosing an inappropriate schema; in bottom-up processing, the hearer

uses data inefficiently and often will not understand inferences and indirect speech acts because of an incomplete understanding of the context (Carrell, 1984). However, in a completely unfamiliar or ambiguous situation, the hearer has no choice but to depend on lower-order information and use bottom-up processing. In such cases, the hearer will have to rely on general knowledge, for example about actor/goal relationships, to make inferences about the situation which will help in decoding.

Schemata necessary for comprehension include knowledge of speech acts and discourse functions, conversational maxims related to politeness and appropriateness, conversational maxims related to the propositional content of discourse contributions (Grice's maxims), and schemata that help the hearer identify relevant context-determining factors.

Pragmatics and Second Language Learners

Difficulties of second language speakers

It is widely recognized that learning a second language involves much more than being able to understand the sounds, grammar, and vocabulary of the second language (Fraser, 1978). It also involves the ability to comprehend and use language in real communication situations, the ability to use what Hymes (1972) referred to as *rules of speaking*. However, there has been little theorizing or research on how nonnative speakers comprehend indirect speech acts in a second language (Kasper, 1984; Conrad, 1984).

Without proficiency with rules of speaking, nonnative speakers will be limited in their ability to communicate. Many indirect speech acts have become so conventionalized that the idea of not recognizing their illocutionary forces may seem ludicrous to native speakers. However, nonnative speakers do have difficulty with them, as with the Chinese dinner guest, who, when asked if she could reach the salt, replied, "Yes, my arms are long" (personal communication, J. DeCarrico, July, 1984).

Similarly, nonnative speakers may not recognize the rhetorical functions of certain forms. For example, Chinese speakers may not recognize that "Thank you for calling" or "It was nice talking to you" are markers that signal a desire to end the conversation (Yang, 1987). A foreign student in New Zealand was embarrassed when he did not realize that the remark "You must be tired" by his host was intended as a signal that he should go to bed since his host and hostess themselves were tired (Holmes & Brown, 1976).

Erwin-Tripp (1976) stated that much of what hearers must comprehend involves inference. The study of pragmatic comprehension in a second language can help language teachers understand some of the problems that students have in both comprehension and production.

Kasper (1984) found that nonnative speakers tended to rely too heavily on bottom-up processing in their second language, often taking utterances too literally. She also found that nonnative speakers did not make use of devices that indicated the illocutionary force of an utterance. Richards (1980) agreed that nonfluent nonnative speakers tended to pay too much attention to the surface meaning of utterances. He further speculated that this affects the language directed toward nonnative speakers (foreigner talk) in that native speakers of a language use more explicit markers of illocutionary force in speaking to nonnative speakers than in speaking to other native speakers.

In relation to production rather than reception, Fukushima and Iwata (1985) did a study comparing invitations and requests made by American native English speakers with those made by advanced Japanese students of English. The researchers found that the Japanese participants, in comparison to the Americans, used more direct expressions and did not distinguish between situations where they could be direct and where politeness required indirectness. The researchers felt that the problem was that the Japanese participants were not able to manipulate the language proficiently, particularly in the area of having the hearer make inferences, rather than that the participants were not aware that different situations

require different levels of politeness.

Classroom application

While inference plays an important part in comprehension, it is not dealt with to any great extent in second language courses (Richards, 1980). Faerch and Kasper (1985) recommended that second language education include a pragmatic component of communicative competence as a teaching goal. They also recommended facilitating the activation of native language pragmatic knowledge to help second language speakers. While the relationships between pragmatic comprehension in various languages has not been investigated closely, pragmatic theorists believe there is some overlap among the maxims in different cultures, though the applications may be different.

Richards (1980) pointed out that in language teaching, questions (especially yes/no questions) are for the most part treated as the adjacency pair request for information/answer, while a question may, in fact, have a different illocutionary force. For example, "Yes, they are" might be the grammatically correct second pair-part for the question "Are these apples fresh?" However, in some contexts, the first pair-part may in fact be a request, in which case "I just bought them; help yourself" would be the appropriate second pair part. Richards recommended that students should be made aware of the possibility of meanings that go beyond such surface meanings.

Holmes and Brown (1976) developed a course intended to help students with what they referred to as sociolinguistic competence, in which they included comprehending the illocutionary force of locutionary acts (which they referred to as "interpreting social meaning") as well as producing appropriate utterances. Their basic course assumption was that

> the adolescent or adult second language learner is by no means sociolinguistically naive since he has already acquired the complex sociolinguistic system used in his native speech community. In learning how to use and interpret the sociolinguistic rules of English he must develop an awareness of areas where the sociolinguistic system of his native language differs from that of English and where "misinterpretation and misanalysis" are most likely to occur....Adult students bring to second language learning an ability to introspect which can be extremely valuable. (Holmes & Brown, 1976, pp. 423-425)

In the class, Holmes and Brown used a variety of activities, including matching situations with appropriate utterances, providing utterances for various situations, role-playing situations, and trying to find implications behind utterances. In all the activities they used, they contrasted expressions in the students' own culture with those used in English. "Hence the learner's sociolinguistic competence in his native language can be regarded as an asset rather than a liability, in that it facilitates the contrastive analysis of different sociolinguistic systems in the classroom" (Holmes & Brown, 1976, p. 426).

The authors reported that as the course progressed, students became more aware of differences between the locutionary and illocutionary forces in their exchanges with native English speakers.

> One student reported that his flat-mates no longer had any reason to laugh at his tendency to take their remarks literally, since he was becoming increasingly sensitive to their function. He quoted as an example his interpretation of "Have you cut yourself?" as an expression of concern rather than a request for obvious confirmation, and proudly told us he had replied "Oh, it's only a scratch." (Holmes & Brown, 1976, p. 427)

Implications for Japanese ESL students

In my experience, I've found that students often seem to think that comprehending in English is something completely different from comprehending in Japanese. However, as Nelson (1984) observed, Grice's maxims appear to apply to Japanese as well as English, though the systems may be applied differently.

I have often found it useful, as Holmes and Brown (1976) advocated, to point out parallels

(or try to get students to find them) between Japanese and English. This seems to help students realize that there are similarities between what they do in Japanese and what they should be doing when they try to understand English. It is not usually necessary or productive to, for example, explain Grice's maxims, except in a linguistics class. However, it is often useful to look at specific examples as they come up in class and point out how they are similar to Japanese.

For example, a question like "How are you doing?" at the beginning of a conversation is a standard form of greeting in English, and a standard answer is expected. However, in the middle of a conversation, it might be intended as a literal question, and a literal answer would be expected. Students may not even realize that they do something similar in Japanese. For example, the question "*Dochira e?*" ("Where are you going?") is often used just as a greeting, and all that is expected is a standard response. However, in some situations, such as when the question is asked by the guard of a building, a literal answer is expected.

Using Japanese is also sometimes helpful to caution students against drawing parallels where there are none. For example, "Where are you going?" (the literal translation of "*Dochira e?*") is not used by Americans in English as a greeting, but only as a literal question. Americans who are not familiar with the function of this expression in Japanese may think Japanese are being unduly inquisitive when they ask "Where are you going?"

Another technique that I have found useful is having students contrast pairs of English sentences. For example, students might compare two expressions which might be used in a conversation between a supervisor and an employee after the employee has made a mistake: "You're careless about details sometimes," and "I'm afraid we're all careless about details sometimes." The first expression is direct and is intended as a criticism of the employee's performance. The second expression is a generalization, but in this context, it is intended as a criticism of the employee's performance. Being able to see the contrast between these two expressions makes this point more clearly. The teacher can use this example to point out that criticisms are often expressed through generalizations in English. It is a way of making the criticism more polite and less offensive since it does not refer directly to the person being criticized. Recognizing this will help students both recognize criticism that is directed at them and make criticisms without being unnecessarily offensive.

Role-playing and simulation are often recommended for practicing interaction in a second language. While I think that these techniques are useful for giving students practice comprehending and using indirect speech acts, Japanese students may lack the proficiency to improvise role-plays or simulations, especially with the additional pressure of "performing" before the class. One way of getting around this in less proficient classes is to have students work together in pairs or groups to write out dialogues based on situations assigned by the teacher. In addition, this allows the teacher a chance to walk around and make corrections of the dialogues before they are performed in front of the class. The teacher can also note types of mistakes or examples of incorrect usage that occur frequently and can then discuss them in front of the whole class.

More proficient classes might be divided into groups, each of which is assigned a role in a dialogue. First, the groups are given an assignment. For example, one group might be assigned the role of a student who wants to borrow a valuable book from a professor. The corresponding group might be assigned the role of a professor who normally makes a policy of not lending books to students. After reading their assignments, the group members decide what expressions are necessary and appropriate, and then a representative of each group participates in the role-play. Players may consult their groups, if necessary. To provide contrasting situations, another pair of groups in the class might be assigned a similar situation with one element changed, such as borrowing a valuable book from a friend.

Conclusion

Further study is obviously needed in the area of linguistic pragmatics and second/foreign language learners. Researchers need to learn more about how language learners deal with both conventional and unconventional illocutionary acts in the target language. What is the effect of similarities and differences with the native language? Are students able to make use of similarities and differences in pragmatics in their own language when they use the target language? What are the best methods for teaching the pragmatic rules of the new language to students for the purpose of production or for the purpose of comprehension? Further research in these areas has the potential to improve foreign language teaching.

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Arriving at the Himalayan Range:

Language Learning and Teacher Training[1]

Subhash Jain

I should like to explore in this presentation the striking similarities that exist between the process of learning a second language and the process of learning how to teach a second language. To me, the two processes are not only ordinarily similar but are also interrelated, perhaps interdependent. Thereafter I wish to explore how we can exploit these similarities to arrive at efficient learning and teaching of the second language.

English language teaching personnel and teacher educators in India have concerned themselves with the teacher, perhaps far too long, to such an extent that it could be labelled a magnificent obsession. There is no dearth of training manuals in the country: National institutions like the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in New Delhi and the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) in Hyderabad, state textbook boards, and some training colleges and English Language Teaching Institutes (ELTIs)[2] have brought out their own respective teachers' handbooks and training manuals. Any such handbook or manual principally focuses on the teacher and is at best a straitjacket stuffed with do's and don't's, preventing original thinking.

Most of these training manuals offer work-a-day formulas in spite of the fact that the teacher's role is perceived as more independent today. Currently in India, education is supposed to be *learner centred* (Government of India, 1986a, 1986b), and the teacher is viewed as a facilitator of learning rather than the traditional imparter of instruction or giver of knowledge. However, the reality is often far different. Generally, the policy makers focus on the teacher, and throughout the teacher is treated as the kingpin of the system.

I submit that we shift the focus from the teacher to the process of learning how to teach. Further, if it is similar to the process of language learning as is argued presently, let's arrive at an instructional design which taps the likenesses between the two processes resourcefully and meaningfully.

Learning a Second Language

Language is a system, an organized network of interdependencies. It has a structure, perhaps with a universal base. Learning a second language means learning its phonology, lexicon, syntax, and communication processes. In the initial stages it means learning what may be termed the "core" language. As he develops, the learner builds a superstructure over this core language which reflects his specific individual needs.

Within the framework of the core language that the learner has learned, there exists abundant scope for individual variation and use. Even in terms of the learner with a limited English proficiency, the system provides a wide variety of choices. Further, the scope for individual manipulation exists to such an extent that the specific use (his set of utterances)

[1] This article is based on a presentation at the National Workshop of English Language Teaching Institutes and Regional Institutes of English held at the H. M. Patel Institute of English Training and Research, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat, India on December 4, 1989.

[2] There are nine ELTIs in India, out of which three are RIEs, or Regional Institutes of English.

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of language becomes virtually the individual's signature. When a learner learns the second language, he learns the system to match his communication requirements; he also learns to bend it to suit his expressional needs.

Another way of looking at the learner's individual contribution is through the concept of *interlanguage*. Interlanguage is an intermediate construct standing somewhere between the learner's first language and the target language (Selinker, 1974). In this case, the target language is English. As the learner is exposed to English, he keeps on hypothesizing about its nature and structure. He arrives at a construct, which has been called transitional competence (Corder, 1973), which he uses to make his own utterances. Thus what a learner says has a logic of its own even when he commits errors.

Interlanguage is a continuum. Depending upon the quantum and the quality of exposure the learner has, his interlanguage is nearer to his first language or nearer to the target language. The learner continually checks and corrects himself, improving on his previous performance and gradually advancing along the continuum toward target language fluency.

Learning to Teach a Second Language

As with learning a second language, learning to teach a second language is not haphazard—it is systematic. Learning to teach a second language means gaining insights into pedagogy, methodology, materials, and educational philosophy.

Just as in a language learning course we consider making room for individual variation and use, in a teacher education course we need to provide for the student teacher's individual contribution and use as he gets into the system of teaching English as a second or other language. It is not a question of accumulation of knowledge. Emphasizing set procedures, given formulas, stipulated work schedules, and preplanned stuff A to Z is unfortunate. We need to consider each student teacher undergoing training as a unique individual operating, using, manipulating, and exploiting the system of teaching in his own individual way.

As with interlanguage, I submit there exists a phenomenon of *interteaching*. Just as the language learner hypothesizes about the nature of the target language and works out a system for himself, I believe the student teacher hypothesizes about the nature of language learning and works out a personal teaching system.

Interteaching seems to me to be a continuum, a progression toward effective self-sufficient practice. It is subject to change, modification, and revision depending upon the exposure to teaching and the actual experience of working with second language learners. Like the phenomenon of interlanguage, interteaching is unique to the individual. It could be called the teacher's competence in transition.

The Striking Similarities

We have the language learner on the one hand and the student teacher learning how to teach English as a second or other language on the other. There are striking similarities between the two. Each one learns and retains information; each is intelligent, resourceful, and creative; each uses his background and previous knowledge to learn, to correct himself, and to continually improve performance; and each is responsible for his own learning.

The language learner manipulates his functioning vocabulary and syntax in order to produce utterances he has not come across before; he does not merely imitate the teacher. He possesses the capacity to extend his language experience beyond the framework of the classroom and to come out with utterances that are strikingly new, fresh, and typically his own. Similarly, the student teacher uses his background, the exposure he has had to teaching situations, and the training he has gained so far in order to handle classroom problems not experienced before.

Necessary it is to positively exploit these likenesses and to nourish them further.

The Substratum

Each language training programme suffers from the constraints of time and space; it is well-nigh impossible to include all the diverse

types of situations the learner is likely to find himself in, let alone cover the situations both quantitatively and qualitatively. We can include only certain vocabulary, a limited range of grammatical patterns, and a set of experiences to develop the basic skills of language and communication. In the same way, a teacher preparation course can include only a limited number and type of teaching situations, a few difficulties and problems the teacher is likely to encounter, and only some techniques, teaching aids, and materials.

It seems necessary therefore to design language and teacher training programmes so as to include representative, typical situations along with certain atypical ones. The aim is to develop a minimal competence which makes students in both programmes draw upon previous experience and relate that experience to new situations in order to understand and manage them.

When we think of the Himalayas, we visualize the entire mountain range—the base, the substratum—rather than any individual peak. Language and teacher training programmes have for far too long concerned themselves with definite individual peaks like Everest, Nandadevi, and K-2—the X Method, Y Technique, and Z Programme. For about 25 years (the mid-1950s through the late 1970s) training institutions followed the structural approach to the syllabus; it became the "modified structural approach" later; currently a communicative treatment of the structural syllabus is being discussed.

I should like to submit that the attempt has been made to take into account only some peaks to the exclusion of others, while at the same time neglecting the base. Unless one negotiates the base, one cannot reach any top. There has to be a minimal capacity, a base which manifests itself in the ever-changing scenario of a multiplicity of peaks. The principle goal of language and teacher education courses thus should be to build the substratum, the vast underlying base, the minimal competence with occasional thrusts of familiar and conquered peaks like Gangotri along with yet-unconquered ones like Kailas. Training like this would enable the student to use education as a quarry, as a source to draw upon to handle all types of situations he encounters.

Curriculum and Materials Development

I believe these considerations should enable us to arrive at an instructional design for English language learning and teaching.

The learning environment

The teacher is instrumental in creating the learning environment to a very large extent. As seen earlier, each learner possesses the capacity to expand on previous knowledge. As such, the teacher's effort should be to create such learning environments which enable the learner to discover things for himself, rather than those which impose P drills, Q exercises, or R passages. The overall question should be: Can the learner work it out himself? The idea of leading learners by hand and spoon-feeding them from day one to the end of the course should be abandoned in favour of principles of learner discovery and learner initiative.

The language course also needs to make proper provision for generous exposure to English in a variety of contexts. If the teacher is to be instrumental in creating the learner's awareness and developing his facility, the teacher needs to stress the actual use of the language. Therefore the situations in and out of class should create the right sort of tension or pressure, making the learner feel the need to do something with words, to say something, to express himself, to communicate. It means we need learning environments wherein each learner comes to feel impelled to use English and does so without inhibitions.

Many educators dismiss classroom situations as "artificial" with little resemblance to life. However, let's realize that language is part of life and communication is the basis for the formation and functioning of any society. Let's therefore not view the classroom environment as artificial or divorced from life. On the contrary, we need to regard classroom situations, simulated though they may be, as a

portion of the real world. So long as the learner believes the situations to be authentic, realistic or real, things happen and learning takes place. The main effort therefore has to be towards making the learner shoulder the responsibilities of learning and towards creating the urge in him to stitch a few collocations together to arrive at a meaningful discourse.

The traditional methodology and materials of language teaching have been fairly tangible, concrete, definite, complete. Our teachers tend to begin with "Once upon a time there was a...," and they are not generally satisfied until they get to the stipulated "...and they lived happily thereafter." To me, such streamlining is unwelcome and is certainly unbecoming of the faith we need to repose in the learner and his capacity. A well-conceived, deliberate open-endedness is called for. To illustrate the point: I asked an elementary English class of 41 learners to construct the well-known story of the thirsty crow in a modern context. Ten groups came out with ten different versions. One group made the crow fly to the nearest cola shop and pick up a straw; another made the pebbles like sugar crystals soluble in water; yet another made the crow chance to find pebbles like cork floatable on water.

With each learner constructing his own system of the target language and following his own logic, there are bound to be errors in the utterances and in his organization of discourse. I should like us to realize that all errors in second language contexts cannot be eliminated and that their presence need not deter us. On the contrary, the teacher needs to realize that errors tell a story: They are a sure sign that learning is taking place. Our effort should be to ensure that there are a large number of opportunities for each individual learner to use English and to check and refine his performance. Such opportunities should be provided through activities, problems, and open-ended tasks. The individual learner should be able to meaningfully exploit every opportunity.

The teaching environment

The teacher educator is instrumental in creating the teaching environment. The idea of a universal "best method" needs to be relinquished in favour of alternative instructional models: a plurality of approaches, a flexibility in logistics, and a multiplicity of techniques. Hence teacher educators need to give up definitive or prescriptive approaches.

As discussed earlier, the student teacher is able to expand upon his background and training in order to handle classroom situations not experienced before. It follows therefore that the larger the exposure to actual teaching experience, the more effective the student teacher's teaching will be. For this reason, the training curriculum needs to provide for bounteous and plentiful teaching experience.

Each student teacher is a learning system, learning to teach the second language. Our effort should be to create the environment wherein the trainee can discover things for himself. Can he draw inferences? Can he interpret the prevailing classroom situation and learn for himself? To enable him to do this the training programme needs to make provision for a wide range of classroom teaching experiences and opportunities to work with the learners in and outside the classroom.

Each training institution in India prescribes its own lesson plan format. While the formal plan the student teacher makes is one part of the story, the fire of classroom experience is yet another. He is unable to learn to teach effectively unless there is sufficient tension, and unless he is left at some point to fend for himself, to take care of things, and to solve the classroom problems himself. The curriculum-syllabus nucleus therefore needs to be free of the formula-type approach and ready-made solutions: "If X happens, adopt M." It needs to be deliberately open-ended, full of vital gaps for the student teacher to fill in. Our instructional design needs to make room for the student teacher's active participation, involvement to the point of immersion, and individual contribution to the gamut of teaching.

Difficulties there will be in any teaching context, and certain problems may persist. Instead of the teacher educator whispering

secrets of wisdom into the student's ears, let the student teacher arrive at his own solutions. He is fully capable of begetting a solution himself, and can on his own tread untrodden paths. He has the capacity to learn from his experiences, apply his mind, and polish his performance continually. Our effort therefore should be to provide for and to create the right environment for the purpose.

Arriving at the Range

The curriculum material offered should thus enable the language learner and the student teacher to reach the base, to build the substratum on their own. The instructional design should recognize the potential of the language learner and the student teacher to put in effort, to struggle, to wrestle with problems, and to work out individual solutions.

Let's therefore arrive at an instructional framework which enables the student to learn how to learn, and which enables the teacher to effectively teach learning how to learn. Let's serve as activating agencies to trigger the process of arriving at the Himalayan range, and leave it to the language learner and student teacher to negotiate the range and reach a peak like Annapurna.

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The Fear of Making Errors

Keiko Nonaka

In an attempt to examine the nature of ESL acquisition by adult Japanese learners of English, I conducted an informal open discussion with 13 Japanese housewives in the greater New York City area about their experiences with English. One of the most frequently raised issues during the discussion was how some speakers fear that they sound silly in English and how some speakers do not care about sounding silly.

Krashen (1982) claims this fear begins at puberty and thus accounts for the differences found between adult and child second language success. Schumann (1978) includes this learners' fear phenomenon as part of language shock: Learners would appear comic when attempting to speak a second language. My personal communication with Hatch (1985) induces me to use a different terminology: the fear of making errors. From the informal open discussion I conducted with Japanese housewives in New York, it occurred to me that this fear of making errors phenomenon might play an important role for English language acquisition by second language learners.

The Study

Because this study is descriptive in nature, I did not begin with strong hypotheses which I wished to test regarding the nature of the fear of making errors and its effect on English language acquisition by Japanese language learners. Instead, I focused my attention on the subjects' varying degrees of fear of making errors in English and the possible correlation of the fear of making errors with eight other variables. Utilizing an Ex Post Facto Design, a research designed to "look at the type and/or degree of relationship between the two variables" (Hatch, 1983, p. 26), I examined the possible correlation of the following:

a) the "fear of making errors" and "age"
b) the "fear of making errors" and "years of stay in the U.S."
c) the "fear of making errors" and "self-reported proficiency level"
d) the "fear of making errors" and "frequency of missing the home country"
e) the "fear of making errors" and "decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S."
f) the "fear of making errors" and "hours of English interaction per week"
g) the "fear of making errors" and "characteristics of English language production manifested in written form"
h) the "fear of making errors" and "characteristics of English language production manifested in oral form"

Subjects

Thirteen Japanese housewives who are nonnative speakers of English were randomly selected from New York City and its surrounding areas. The subjects ages ranged from 20-40, and their years of stay in the U.S. ranged from three months to 7.3 years.

Data Collection

I met each of the 13 Japanese housewives individually and asked each one to:

1) fill out a questionnaire written in Japanese (see Appendix A, page 35, for its modified English version) designed to elicit each subject's degree of fear of making errors. The questionnaire was also designed to elicit (a) age, (b) years of stay in the U.S.,

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(c) self-reported proficiency level, (d) frequency of missing the home country, (e) decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S., and (f) hours spent on interaction in English each week of each subject.

2) translate a story and five additional sentences written in Japanese into English (see Appendix B, page 36); this task was designed to elicit (g) some characteristics of each subject's written production.

3) participate in a five-minute interview in English; this task was designed to elicit (h) some characteristics of each subject's oral production.

Data Tabulation

Categorizing the subjects according to their different levels of fear of making errors

Question #7 of each questionnaire (see Appendix A) was designed to elicit each subject's varying degree of fear of making errors. Each subject was asked to identify herself with one of the following five levels:

Level 5: Subjects who always want to avoid making errors.
Level 4: Subjects who want to avoid making errors as much as possible.
Level 3: Subjects who don't mind making errors as much.
Level 2: Subjects who don't mind making errors at all.
Level 1: Subjects who think it is actually good to make errors.

None of the 13 subjects identified themselves with either Level 1 or Level 5, the two extremes. Instead, all 13 subjects can be classified into the three in-between levels (i.e., Level 4, Level 3, and Level 2). Of the 13 subjects, three identified themselves with Level 4: They will be designated as subjects A1, A2, A3. Six subjects identified themselves with Level 3: They will be designated as subjects B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6. The remaining four, who identified themselves with Level 2, will be designated as subjects C1, C2, C3, C4. Table 1-A outlines the results of the A students; Table 1-B outlines the B students' results; Table 1-C outlines the results of the C students. See page 31 for Tables 1-A, 1-B, 1-C.

Tabulating the first six variables which were examined in relation to the subjects' fear of making errors

The questions #1 through #6 of each questionnaire (see Appendix A) which elicit "age," "years of stay in the U.S.," "self-reported proficiency level," "frequency of missing the home country," "decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S.," and "hours spent on interaction in English language each week" were examined in relation to the three categories in which the subjects were grouped. (See Tables 1-A, 1-B, 1-C.)

Tabulating the remaining two variables which were examined in relation to the subjects' fear of making errors

The characteristics elicited from written production (see Appendix B) and the characteristics elicited from the five-minute oral interview in English were examined in relation to the three categories in which the subjects were grouped. (See Tables 2-A, 2-B, 2-C, pages 31-32. Also see Appendix C, page 36, for an explanation and examples of the characteristics represented in Tables 2-A, 2-B, 2-C.)

Data Analysis

a) *"fear of making errors" and "age"*

Any generalizations about how "fear of making errors" and "age" correlate might seem unplausible from the current study due to the limited number of subjects involved. In examining Table 1-C, however, I discover a tendency of those who do not mind making errors at all to be younger in age (in their 20s). Therefore, it might be worthwhile to conduct an empirical study that would examine the relation between "fear of making errors" and "age."

TABLE 1-A
Subjects who WANT TO AVOID making errors as much as possible

Subject	Age	Years in U.S.	Self-reported proficiency level	Frequency of missing native country	ESL instruction in U.S.	Hours of English interaction/week
A1	20's	0.5	fair	sometimes	no	0
A2	30's	1.0	good	sometimes	no	10
A3	40's	0.3	fair	sometimes	yes	1

TABLE 1-B
Subjects who DO NOT MIND SO MUCH making errors

Subject	Age	Years in U.S.	Self-reported proficiency level	Frequency of missing native country	ESL instruction in U.S.	Hours of English interaction/week
B1	30's	0.7	fair	sometimes	yes	2.5
B2	20's	1.0	poor	never	yes	2
B3	20's	2.6	fair	sometimes	no	1
B4	30's	1.4	fair	frequently	yes	1
B5	40's	0.3	poor	sometimes	yes	2
B6	20's	0.3	fair	frequently	yes	6

TABLE 1-C
Subjects who DO NOT MIND AT ALL making errors

Subject	Age	Years in U.S.	Self-reported proficiency level	Frequency of missing native country	ESL instruction in U.S.	Hours of English interaction/week
C1	20's	7.4	very good	rarely	yes	50
C2	20's	3.4	fair	sometimes	yes	1
C3	20's	0.5	good	sometimes	yes	20
C4	20's	1.1	good	rarely	yes	5

TABLE 2-A
Subjects who WANT TO AVOID making errors as much as possible

Subject	Characteristics elicited from written production	Characteristics elicited from oral production
A1	simplification construction alteration topic-comment construction	performance errors frequent hesitations frequent use of short utterances
A2	complication construction lack of colloquial expressions	frequent use of short utterances
A3	alteration	frequent use of short utterances frequent hesitations frequent use of pause-fillers

(See Appendix C for explanations and examples of characteristics given in Tables 2-A, 2-B, 2-C.)

TABLE 2-B
Subjects who DO NOT MIND SO MUCH making errors

Subject	Characteristics elicited from written production	Characteristics elicited from oral production
B1	complication construction lack of colloquial expressions	frequent use of full sentence structures
B2	lack of colloquial expressions	frequent use of pause-fillers
B3	alteration informal usage	frequent use of full sentence structures performance errors
B4	simplification construction	frequent use of full sentence structures
B5	complication construction lack of colloquial expressions	frequent use of short utterances
B6	———	frequent use of full sentence structures

TABLE 2-C
Subjects who DO NOT MIND AT ALL making errors

Subject	Characteristics elicited from written production	Characteristics elicited from oral production
C1	simplification construction alteration informal usage	frequent use of short utterances frequent use of pause-fillers
C2	simplification construction alteration lack of colloquial expressions	performance errors frequent hesitations
C3	informal usage lack of colloquial expressions	frequent use of pause-fillers
C4	simplification construction informal usage	frequent hesitations

b) *"fear of making errors" and "years of stay in the U.S."*

In reviewing Tables 1-A, 1-B, 1-C, I find no evidence of correlation between the "fear of making errors" and the "years of stay in the U.S."

c) *"fear of making errors" and "self-reported proficiency level"*

The "self-reported proficiency level," which might have suggested a positive or a negative self-concept of a given subject, does not correlate with the "fear of making errors" according to Tables 1-A, 1-B, 1-C.

d) *"fear of making errors" and "frequency of missing the home country"*

In examining Tables 1-A, 1-B, 1-C, I find no strong correlation between "fear of making errors" and "frequency of missing the home country."

e) *"fear of making errors" and "decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S."*

In examining Tables 1-A, 1-B, 1-C, I find that people who have taken or are taking ESL instruction after coming to the U.S. are mainly those who feel at least some degree of ease with the language. We can speculate about

some possible situational factors involved concerning the correlation between the "fear of making errors" and the "decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S." Although the variable designed as "decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S." is considered to be an independent variable, we can assume that there might be some other intervening factors that would influence each person's decision to take ESL instruction in the U.S.

f) *"fear of making errors" and "hours of English interaction per week"*

Although there seems to be no clear correlation between the "fear of making errors" and the "hours of English interaction per week," I encounter an interesting phenomenon in examining Table 1-C. People who feel at great ease with the fear of making errors seem to fall into two extreme types: ones (subjects C1 & C3) who have many interactions in English (50 hours and 20 hours a week), and others (subjects C2 and C4) who have interaction in English very rarely (one hour and five hours a week). This might mean that high-interaction subjects feel at ease because they quite often have to perform in the language (i.e., have plenty of opportunities to bear with such fear) and that low-interaction subjects also feel at ease because they seldom have to perform in the language (i.e., have few opportunities to have such fear).

It is also interesting to point out that those who have many chances to interact in English use pause-fillers more frequently than those who have very few opportunities to interact in English. This phenomenon will be discussed in Section H.

g) *"fear of making errors" and "characteristics elicited from the written production"*

There seems to be little correlation between the "fear of making errors" and "characteristics elicited from the written production" of the Japanese housewives. In fact, there are many shared characteristics among all housewives. Common characteristics such as "simplification construction," "alteration," and "lack of colloquial expressions" were shared in writing by most of the housewives, regardless of the degree of the "fear of making errors."

On the other hand, we should be able to define some characteristics elicited from the written production of those housewives who have little affective psychological fear of making errors. As a matter of fact, judging from Tables 2-A, 2-B, 2-C, it seems that those housewives under the categories B and C, the ones who feel more or less at ease with the target language, have more tendency to be familiar with and to actually produce informal usage in their written English.

It might be possible that some of those who have great ease with the target language have a low affective filter in terms of the fear of making errors, in the sense that very little of this fear can affect their process of second language acquisition. To state it differently, instead of struggling with the fear of making errors and trying to speak or produce as little as possible so as not to hurt their self-pride or confidence, the subjects in categories B and C maintain positive attitudes towards second language acquisition by not being afraid of making mistakes. This positive attitude might generate more opportunities to speak the target language with native speakers and help them become more familiar with informal usage.

h) *"fear of making errors" and "characteristics elicited from oral production"*

In examining the data I find that high-interaction speakers use many pause-fillers and that low-interaction speakers use many hesitation devices. See Appendix C, page 36, for explanations and examples of these characteristics. In other words, high-interaction speakers tend to take positive attitudes toward filling out the pauses of silent segments in conversation by uttering some verbal connecting fragments; whereas, low-interaction speakers tend to take negative attitudes toward the pauses by using some hesitation devices. Other than those two findings, which are reciprocal in nature and have complementary aspects in terms of the positive versus negative side of a single treat-

ment of the identical time allotment or sequence, I encounter frequent use of short utterances by those people who feel that they want to avoid making errors as much as possible.

Further Analysis of Data

In spite of the difficulties caused by some methodological failings of the present study (e.g., the limited number of subjects and the small size of the samplings, both of which are inadequate to analyze the data statistically), I came up with a few very interesting findings. First, those who have little fear of making errors tend to have either many hours of interaction or a rare amount of interaction in English each week. Second, those who have many hours of interaction in English are inclined to use pause-fillers, having acquired their use through frequent interaction with native speakers of English; while those who scarcely interact with native speakers are not accustomed to the use of pause-fillers and fill their pauses with hesitations.

It seems possible to further analyze this interesting phenomena. The use of pause-fillers might well indicate a positive attitude toward communicating in English; while the use of hesitations might indicate a negative attitude toward the acquisition of the second language. Putting it differently, pause-fillers can be defined as positive communication strategies achieved among the active learners of the target language; whereas hesitations are negative strategies carried out by negative ESL learners.

Conclusion

Although the nature of my study limits me from making any strong claims or any broad generalizations about Japanese language learners and the nature of their fear of making errors, I have, nevertheless, uncovered some interesting findings. It seems, for instance, that less fear of making errors can often be attained by the younger population of Japanese housewives. Generally, it also seems that those housewives who feel at ease making errors tend to get involved in ESL instruction after coming to the U.S. more often than those who have a strong fear of making errors.

In addition, housewives who feel at great ease with the fear of making errors often use informal English in written production. Furthermore, those subjects who have a great fear of making errors frequently use short utterances in oral production.

Finally, those housewives who feel at great ease with the fear of making errors tend to have either many hours of interaction or a rare amount of interaction in English each week. The oral production of those who have many hours of interaction in English can be characterized by frequent use of pause-fillers, while the oral production of those who have a rare amount of interaction in the English language can be characterized by frequent hesitations. This supports the idea that the acquisition of pause-fillers should be performed in a natural setting where ample interaction in English exists. The more one can have opportunity to speak with native speakers, the more pause-fillers one can acquire naturally, unconsciously, in an informal language learning environment. This is probably why those who have a rare amount of interaction in the English language use frequent hesitations in silent segments of conversation rather than pause-fillers.

Implications for Teaching ESL to Japanese Students

Japanese ESL students should start learning the language as early as possible. Younger learners are better able to acquire positive communication strategies because they have less fear of making errors than older students.

It is also important for Japanese ESL teachers to improve their ESL teaching environment so that the learners can feel at the greatest possible ease and security in making errors. In other words, Japanese ESL teachers should allow the students to make errors without being afraid of doing so. If a student is afraid of making errors in public, he or she is displaying a negative attitude which will decrease his or her motivation to learn the language. Therefore, teachers should minimize the opportuni-

ties for such negative behavioral tendencies while at the same time providing a supportive learning environment where students are encouraged to make errors without fear.

Moreover, Japanese ESL teachers should always make great efforts to provide students with opportunities to interact with the English language as naturally as possible. This approach will help learners become better communicators in English because they will be able to pick up naturally acquired phrases such as pause-fillers, which are considered positive strategic devices.

Japanese ESL teachers therefore need to maximize their students' opportunities to encounter a natural communicative environment. In this way, the students will have diminished fear of making errors and will be able to use pause-fillers, rather than hesitations, whenever they have difficulties communicating with native speakers.

Finally, I hope the present study will enable Japanese ESL teachers to become better English teachers, especially in terms of minimizing their students' affective barrier toward learning English and maximizing the opportunity for secure and relaxed learning situations.

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APPENDIX A

Survey Questionnaire

1. How old are you?
   ☐ 40-49 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 20-29 ☐ other

2. How long have you been in the United States? _____ years

3. Please rate your current ability to use English.

☐	fluent	(fluent)
☐	can explain a given idea	(very good)
☐	can get message across	(good)
☐	can manage most of the shopping needs	(fair)
☐	cannot use English as all	(poor)

4. How often do you feel like you want to go home to Japan?
   ☐ frequently
   ☐ sometimes
   ☐ rarely
   ☐ never

5. Have you ever enrolled in an ESL class since you came to the United States?
   ☐ yes ☐ no

6. How often do you use English each week? _____ hours

7. How do you feel about making errors in English?

☐	want to always avoid	(level 5)
☐	want to avoid as much as possible	(level 4)
☐	do not mind so much	(level 3)
☐	do not mind at all	(level 2)
☐	it is actually a good thing to do	(level 1)

APPENDIX B

Story and Five Additional Statements Used to Elicit Characteristics of Written Production

(Note: The story and sentences were originally given to the subjects in Japanese. The subjects were asked provide an English translation. For purposes of clarity, the story and sentences are reproduced here in English.)

1. It was a dark night.
2. A man was riding a bicycle without turning the light on.
3. When he came to an intersection, he didn't know which way to turn.
4. Getting off his bicycle, he looked around to ask for help.
5. Then he found a pole which had something white on its top. It appeared to be a sign.
6. He searched for a lighter or a match in his pockets.
7. He found a box of matches. Fortunately there was one match left.
8. He climbed the pole.
9. There he lit the precious single match and read the sign in its dim light.
10. The sign said "Wet Paint."

11. In terms of beer, I recommend Kirin.
12. I want eel. (Said when ordering at a Japanese restaurant.)
13. It takes her about two hours to get to school by train.
14. It's very kind of you.
15. Could you do me a favor?

APPENDIX C

Explanation and Examples of Characteristics Represented in Tables 2-A, 2-B, 2-C

Written Production

simplification construction: simplifying the intention in order to avoid making complex statements.
"found something white on the pole" instead of "found a pole which had something white on its top"
"could find a last match" instead of "fortunately there was one match left"

complication construction: complicating the construction by redundancy or circumlocution.
"when he came to the intersection, he didn't know which way to turn at the corner" instead of "when he came to the intersection, he didn't know which way to turn"

alteration: substitution of unproductive words for productive words.
"struck the last match" or "struck the important match" instead of "lit the precious match."
"little light" instead of "dim light"

topic-comment construction: construction common in Japanese where the topic is followed by a comment.
"a box of match was in it" instead of "he found a box of matches in his pocket"

lack of colloquial expressions: lack of familiarity with ordinary daily patterns of expression.
"wet painted" or "just painted" instead of "wet paint"

informal usage: colloquial usage of some common idiomatic expressions.
"get help" instead of "ask for help"
"I'll have an eel" or "I want an eel" instead of "I'll have eel" or "I want eel"
"way he had to take" instead of "way to turn"

Oral Production

performance errors: errors made when engaged in actual language performance.
"she come" instead of "she comes"
"come the United States" instead of "come to the United States"

frequent use of short utterances: the use of short utterances in communication.
"in Manhattan" instead of "he works in Manhattan"

frequent use of full sentence structures: the use of full sentences in communication.
"he works in Manhattan" instead of "in Manhattan"
"I'm pleased to meet you."
"I'm sure that...."
"I think I'm going to...."

frequent hesitations: negative reaction to a silent interval in communication.
"...ah..."

frequent use of pause-fillers: positive reaction to a silent interval in communication.
"...maybe..."
"...as you know..."
"...I mean..."

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Politics and the Modern English Language

Thomas Clayton

Language is a political instrument, means, and proof of power.

JAMES BALDWIN

The first time I ordered tea in my favorite restaurant in Malaysia, it came hot, sugared, and filled with sweetened condensed milk. It was everything I didn't want, except the tea.

Gradually I learned that to order "tea" was not good enough; I had to specify exactly which ingredients I wanted and did not want. To receive iced tea with neither sugar nor milk, I had to shout, "Teh O bing kosong!" at one of the waiters as they rushed by. Minutes later a tall, cool, refreshing glass of iced tea would arrive at my table. I found nothing quite as nice, in the tropics, as that sweating glass of tea and the hard-edged, almost brittle taste that tea can have when it isn't sweetened.

My order—"Teh O bing kosong!"—is linguistically and politically fascinating. "Teh" (pronounced "tay") is a Malayization of the English world "tea." I suppose, though I don't know for certain, that tea came to Malaysia from China with the British. It is understandable, therefore, that the English word "tea" would simply make a minor pronunciation change to become the Malay "teh."

I don't know the linguistic roots of "O." My speculation, however, is that "O" comes from the numeral zero (0), originally an Arabic concept. Of course, zero indicates the lack or absence of something. When applied to tea in Malaysia, it means an absence of sweetened condensed milk. I suppose the concept of zero made its way to Malaysia, along with Islam, in the 13th century with Muslim traders from southern India.

"Bing" means "ice" in Cantonese. The population of Malaysia is approximately 35% ethnic Chinese. There was a great immigration to Malaysia from southern China in the 19th century. The immigrants of course brought their language, Cantonese, which is still widely spoken in Malaysia as a more or less pure language, and which has also entered the linguistic no-man's-land of such phrases as "teh O bing kosong."

Finally, "kosong" is the Malay word for "empty." "Kosong" is a much-used word in modern Malaysia. Besides signifying the emptiness, or lack, of sugar in tea, it means "unoccupied" in train toilets and is splashed across the street in areas where you aren't supposed to park your car.

My wife went on to subsequent linguistic odysseys and discovered vast further realms of tea preparation. I was satisfied, however, with teh O bing kosong, and considered myself home.

Code-Mixing

"Teh O bing kosong" is an example of what many linguists call "code-mixing" or "code-switching" (Bhatia & Ritchie, 1989; Ozog, 1987). Code-mixing is usually defined as the use of linguistic elements from two or more languages within a single sentence, statement, or situation.

The English-Arabic-Cantonese-Malay code-mixing of "teh O bing kosong" is just one example of the code-mixing in Malaysia which I witnessed practically every day. As my wife and I prepared to leave the country, we had to cash in our retirement fund. We visited a Sikh friend who was also the head administrator of the retirement fund office in our town. We held

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our discussion in English, but he instructed the office staff to process our papers in Malay. We had had dinner with this man and his family, and while most of the conversation was in English, he spoke Punjabi with his elderly mother-in-law.

Even I, with only a moderate command of Malay, did a fair amount of code-mixing in my daily affairs. When we went to pay our income taxes at the end of our stay in Malaysia, for example, I explained the reason for my visit to the receptionist in Malay, but settled into English when the senior administrator entered the booth where my wife and I were waiting.

Illocutionary code-mixing

People make statements beyond the surface level of communication when they choose to speak a particular language in a particular situation. In speech act theory, the illocutionary force of a certain utterance is what the speaker *means* by the utterance; it is separate from the surface message, the locutionary force, of the utterance (Searle, 1979). If I am watching television with my wife and she asks, "Is it too loud?", the locutionary force of the utterance is a question to which I should answer, "Yes, it is," or, "No, it isn't," depending on my individual perception. However, my wife does not really want to know my opinion of the television's volume—she wants me to get up and turn it down. The illocutionary force of her question "Is it too loud?" is actually a request that I get up and adjust the volume control.

Similar illocutionary force can be found in code-mixing situations. Tay (1989) calls this element of code-mixing "total communicative impact" (p. 412) and defines it as the attitudes speakers intend to convey in communication. I would like to name this element "illocutionary code-mixing," to suggest that there is more behind the decision to speak a particular language or languages than the simple linguistic ability to do so.

In Malaysia, there is a certain amount of prestige associated with the English language, especially in the Chinese and the Indian communities. This prestige can be traced back to British colonial days when English was the medium of instruction in schools and when educated people could speak English. When the Malay tax officer addressed me in English, he was making a statement about the relatively high level of his education and his positive attitude toward the English language.

Similarly, when I spoke Malay to the reception clerk, I was making a number of illocutionary statements. I was advertising the fact that I had taken the trouble to learn Malay, which she was sure to appreciate. I was showing respect to a Malay person by addressing her in her first language. I was demonstrating my cultural sensitivity and perceptiveness by attempting communication about a government matter (taxes) in the national language. In other words, I had an agenda in using Malay which went beyond the surface level meaning of our conversation.

Political code-mixing

Finally, I believe that communicators make political statements when they engage in code-mixing. I would like to define political code-mixing as an illocutionary political statement made through the use of a particular language or languages in a particular situation. I would also like to define "political statement" as a statement which reflects the current or desired governmental system in a particular place; or a statement which reflects the racial or religious bias of language users in a particular place.

When I ordered teh O bing kosong in my favorite restaurant, I was making a political statement through code-mixing. I was acknowledging the fact that Malaysia is a diverse linguistic and political community to which many languages and peoples have contributed. A large part of the political history of modern Malaysia—the Arabic influence through Islam on the Malay language and community, British colonialism, mass immigration from southern China—is present in those four words or symbols.

Political language use can also be far more aggressive and can serve both unifying and dividing functions. For the most part, how-

ever, the political use of language as either a unifier or a divider is accomplished through code-purity, rather than through code-mixing.

Code-Purity

Kachru (1986) discusses "code-purification," which he defines as "a linguistic activity aimed at curtailing linguistic change" (p. 62). He lists a number of attitudes which contribute to the desire on the part of communicators to maintain the purity of a language. For instance, Arabic and Sanskrit are sacred languages which maintain their purity for religious purposes. Other writers have also discussed the attitudes toward language purity or code-purification. Cheng and Butler (1989) state: "Some [language users] feel that...code-switching can 'pollute' a language" (p. 297).

Neither Kachru nor Cheng and Butler mention political attitudes as contributing to a desire for language purity, though Kachru's discussion of sacred languages could fall within my definition of politics. I feel, however, that political motivation is a vital element in code-purity and would like to suggest a set of subcomponents for code-purity which could more effectively contain the overt political functions of language: language imperialism and language nationalism.

Language imperialism

I will define language imperialism as a conscious action on the part of a government to create unity in an area or country through the use of a common language. The familiar arrogant connotations of the word "imperialism" can be a factor in language imperialism; however, "imperialism" can also be used in a noncolonial sense, indicating action within a government's recognized sovereignty.

Language imperialism can be used as a political tool by colonial governments in order to achieve unity in and control over a multilingual, multiethnic country or area which is emotionally, though not militarily, beyond their control. English, for example, was consciously established as the language of government, education, and business in India in 1835 under a plan proposed by Thomas Babington Macaulay, Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council (Kamath, 1986). English soon became the unifying language of the Indian subcontinent. Not only could the British colonizers communicate more readily with the Indian peoples, but the Indians themselves, speakers of hundreds of different languages and dialects, could communicate interregionally and interlinguistically through the use of English. Naturally, this unity of language facilitated the control of India by the British, the success of business, and the imperial prosperity of India.

The British followed this same pattern in Malaysia as well, with an initial twist: The colonizers *created* the multilinguistic nature of modern Malaysia by importing large numbers of Chinese to work in the tin mines (today, ethnic Chinese number 35% of the population of Malaysia) and large numbers of Indians to work in the rubber plantations (ethnic Indians from many linguistic groups now comprise 10% of Malaysia's population); then the Raj unified the diverse population—themselves, the immigrants, and the original Malay inhabitants—with the English language. As in India, English as the unifying language of government, education, and business helped the British control Malaysia and make the country an economic success.

Similar examples of language imperialism can be found closer to modern times, too. One of the first things the Japanese did when they conquered Malaysia during World War II was to begin teaching Japanese in public schools—I have friends in Malaysia who can still hold simple conversations in Japanese that they learned as children in school during the occupation. In the contemporary Soviet Union, Russian is the language of government and education in many republics whose majority is neither ethnic Russian nor Russian speaking.

Of course, language imperialism is not only a tool of colonial governments. Singapore's "Speak Mandarin Campaign" (Pakir, 1989) is also an example of language imperialism. The government is trying to unify the many dialects

of Chinese currently spoken in Singapore, whose population is 75% ethnic Chinese (Tay, 1982), into Mandarin. English has always been an unofficial unifier in the United States; it has given a diverse racial and ethnic hodgepodge of immigrants a common language in which to communicate, educate themselves, and do business.

Language nationalism

On the other side of the political code-purity issue is the use of language by either governments or groups as a divider. I would like to call this element of code-purity "language nationalism." With the breakup of the 19th century European empires and the threatened collapse of the Soviet empire, it is common to interpret the word "nationalism" as necessarily positive. However, I would like to view "nationalism" as free from connotations; "language nationalism" in this essay refers to action on the part of governments or groups to establish the distinction of their country, area, race, or religion through language use.

Historically, language nationalism is often the pair-partner of language imperialism: Countries which have been linguistically dominated by an extranational force often react, immediately before and after independence, with an intense desire to revert to the precolonial language.

The growing nationalistic movements in the Soviet Republics are motivated at least in part by a desire to reestablish their national languages. Should Lithuania achieve independence, one of the first things to go, along with various statues of Joseph Stalin, will probably be the Russian language in schools and government. Indian independence was not without a linguistic agenda: In 1947, Pandit Nehru announced that the English language would disappear from use "within a generation" (McCrum, Cran, & MacNeil, 1986, p. 333). In Pakistan's nationalism movement, Urdu, the language of Muslims in India, was nominated as a replacement for English as the national language (Haque, 1982).

English remained the national language of Malaysia past its 1957 independence from Britain, probably because, as in India, English continued to supply a common vehicle for communication in a country where there were many native languages. However, the Malay-dominated government established Bahasa Malaysia as the official language of government and education under the National Language Policy Act of 1967 (Augustin, 1982). Government schools had shifted completely to Malay medium education by 1983 (Ambrose-Yeoh, 1988). The Malays held the numerical population advantage and were the historical "owners" of the country; therefore, Malays were within their philosophical rights to establish a national language which reflected their national heritage. By establishing Bahasa Malaysia as the national language—by engaging in what I call language nationalism—the government was making a positive nationalistic statement of separation from past British colonial rule and English as the language of the colonial period.

It is interesting to note that Malaysia, in establishing language nationalism, invoked the very thing it set out to overcome—language imperialism. The reality of modern Malaysia in the 1970s and today is that it is multiracial and multilinguistic. To establish a national language which is the first language of only 55% of the population is to assume linguistic control over the remaining 45%. I had many ethnic Chinese and ethnic Indian friends in Malaysia who complained of the difficulty this language policy created for their school-aged children. The children were placed at an automatic disadvantage when they entered public school because they could not immediately communicate in the language of instruction. In this sense, Malaysia's Malay language nationalism was also intranational language imperialism and was nearly as guilty of arrogance as the British had been a few generations before.

I witnessed many examples of Malay language nationalism during my two-year stay in the country. In fact, I wouldn't have been invited to Malaysia by the government if it were not for Malay language nationalism. The

promotion of the Malay language as the medium of education and the consequent demotion of English to the educational category of a foreign language led to declining English skills in public school students. At the same time, the government wanted to send rural Malay students to universities in the United States. The government had two motivations in this policy. First, rural Malays were considered educationally disadvantaged, and the government wanted to provide a means of advancement for them; and second, a university education in the United States would supply students with the technological expertise to help Malaysia itself advance. So the government set up two-year colleges in order to prepare Malay students, while still in Malaysia, for a second two years at U.S. universities. One important educational goal of these colleges was to improve the students' English abilities, which is why my wife and I were hired.

Unfortunately, the government's desire to educate its young people in the United States was not shared by all people—not even by all the faculty of our college. I will never forget my first Humanities Department meeting. The Islamic religion teachers (for our college, being limited to Malay students who were all Islamic, included religious education as an important part of the curriculum) refused to greet my wife and myself, insisted that the meeting be conducted in Malay even though English was the language of instruction on campus in all but religion classes, and then proceeded to deride English education and the United States (this was translated for me later) at considerable length. Shortly after this meeting, the religious teachers removed themselves from the Humanities Department, setting up a department of their own.

When we tried to encourage an English-on-campus policy, the religious teachers reacted by lowering religion class grades for students who abided by our policy. Confused students ended up in our offices in tears, torn between their prescribed religious obligations and their desire to improve themselves as students. The English language and the U.S. were frequently attacked as decadent and evil in religious meetings. Entering freshmen kept English journals for our composition classes. A marked deterioration of attitude toward the English language and the United States was typical between the beginning and the end of a term.

My point in these anecdotes is not a personal diatribe against Islam, Malaysia, or my college. The racial and religious composition of modern Malaysia was created, and then abandoned, by the British Empire in an act of almost inconceivable arrogance. The conflicting motivations and desires of the remaining, and disparate, power groups make Malaysia's course into the future a dangerous one, to which I am genuinely sympathetic. My point in these anecdotes is merely to highlight the political use of language.

Language was and is used politically in Malaysia to draw religious, national, and racial distinctions. Part of the religious teachers' negative reaction to English was religious; it was intended to separate Muslims from the West, which they viewed as decadent and dangerous for Islamic morality. Another part of their negative reaction was nationalistic, intended to reinforce the political separation between the modern country of Malaysia and the departed British colonial empire. Malay medium education in public schools separates—segregates—along racial lines; educational opportunity is offered unequally to Malaysia's intranational ethnic groups.

Language nationalism is a natural development in countries which have been subjected to language imperialism. While it is understandable and right that countries would want to assert their national heritage through language policies, it is also clear that these policies can cut much deeper than intended—far past the colonial empires they set out to excise.

Politics and the Modern English Language

Up to this point, I have discussed the political use of language in general. I have attempted to establish that the decision to use a particular language in a particular situation can be made for reasons other than surface com-

munication, and I have suggested political statement as one of these illocutionary reasons. I have also discussed the political use of language as both a unifying tool, which I called language imperialism, and as a dividing tool, which I called language nationalism.

Thus far my examples of the political use of English have been restricted to the British Empire and have been, necessarily, a discussion of past history. In what follows, I would like to discuss the political nature of modern English, as it continues to grow in importance as the international language of business and education. As the United States is now the dominant English-speaking power in the world, I will restrict my remarks to the political use of English by the United States.

The English language and ideology

The English language is purposefully promoted by such United States government agencies as Voice of America (VOA), the U.S. Information Service (USIS), and the Peace Corps. Besides the fact that any governmental action is necessarily political, the U.S. government is making illocutionary ideological statements through the promotion of English.

The promotion of English by the United States has always been generous and relatively free—no strings attached. The USIS freely distributes English language and educational materials, including *The English Teaching Forum*, a widely respected and influential journal, through embassies all over the world. Anyone can practice basic English skills by tuning into VOA's English education programs or News in Special English. The Peace Corps has provided valuable services, including English education, in thousands of places around the world. If we look only this far, this "no-strings-attached" promotion of English appears to spring from benevolence and wealth: The U.S. is both willing and able to share its educational resources. This statement alone is a powerful gesture of good will which reflects positively on the United States.

But it is also possible to find a deeper motive. This magnanimous promotion of English can be seen as a conscious projection of the United States as it wants to appear to the rest of the world. The U.S. is very generous with its resources. It is easy, if not entirely logical, to leap to a broader generalization—that everything about the United States is generous, attractive, and inviting. The recipients of this U.S. generosity must complete the intended enthymeme: Many places, governments, political systems are not so generous by comparison; the United States, therefore, is a better place than these places, and the U.S. political system is better than other political systems.

In this sense—that of unifying the world under the umbrella of particular American values through the use of language—the United States is consciously manipulating other countries and is engaging in English language imperialism for ideological reasons.

The English language and business

Like many governmental policies, the promotion of English is not limited to pure ideology. English is also promoted for more tangible and immediate reasons.

It is in U.S. commercial interests to promote English as the international language of business. When business is conducted in English, native English speakers hold an automatic advantage over speakers of other languages. I do not mean to suggest that Americans regularly hoodwink speakers of other languages with linguistic sleights of hand. I simply mean that native English speakers are able to control English negotiations and business meetings with greater ease, clarity, and effectiveness than most nonnative speakers of English who are forced to communicate in a language which they control imperfectly.

The United States has the British Empire to thank for the initial colonial spread of the English language, but is also actively engaged in the promotion of English for business purposes. Besides ideology, public programs like VOA, the USIS, and the Peace Corps also serve business. To grossly oversimplify a complicated situation, when these agencies provide English education to government offi-

cials and businessmen in foreign countries, they make it possible for U.S. companies to enter these markets and conduct business in English. They prepare foreign markets for U.S. business participation by laying a linguistic foundation for future communication.

English is also promoted by private U.S. companies so that communication between U.S. head offices and overseas subsidiaries and trading partners can be maintained. The Language Institute of Japan's (LIOJ's) business English program, for instance, draws Japanese businesspeople from many U.S.-owned companies. Sometimes the students need to communicate with American managers who are present in Japan. Other times they will travel to the U.S. head office where they will communicate about company business with the home administration.

It is possible to interpret the U.S.'s double-pronged public and private promotion of English for business purposes as an attempt to maintain U.S. economic global dominance. In this sense, the United States is engaging in a noncolonial form of language imperialism. A diverse group (the world) is unified through the use of a common language, English; control is assumed and advantage is taken by the more skilled native speakers of English.

This interpretation, however, is predicated upon a particular "ownership" of the English language. As long as English is "owned" by native speakers, the promotion of English as the language of international business communication can be accurately called language imperialism, and the familiar scenario of control and exploitation will be enacted.

In my opinion, however, this stage in the development of English is passing quickly. It is true that the English language has been and continues to be actively promoted by both public and private business interests in the United States. But today, aggressive nonnative use of English is changing the concept of ownership. English is beginning to function independently, without the participation of native speakers, for the use and benefit of nonnative speakers. LIOJ's business English program draws many more students from Japanese-owned companies than from U.S.-owned companies. The Matsushita Electric Industrial Company, one of our clients and one of the largest companies in Japan, has recently decided to adopt English as its international language of business communication (*Mainichi Daily News*, 1990). Matsushita needs English, not to serve some foreign authority, but to communicate effectively with its own network of foreign subsidiaries.

I believe the development of the ownership of English as the international language of business is a continuum. LIOJ's Japanese students are still nonnative and imperfect English users and continue to be at a disadvantage when communicating with native English speakers. But one day, probably within the next few generations, they and other international businesspeople will speak the international language of business, English, as well as native speakers. At that time, all vestiges of native speaker advantage and language ownership will disappear.

The English language and education

English has also become a very powerful language of international higher education, though the impact of the language on this realm, in my opinion, will never be as strong as on the world of business.

The United States government encourages students from other countries to attend U.S. universities and colleges by first granting them the political privilege of entering the country, and also by providing federal and state funds to universities and colleges, some of which is used to support foreign student services and organizations, foreign student scholarships, and foreign graduate student teaching positions. Once in the U.S., these foreign students study a variety of academic courses. Perhaps the correlation is too obvious to merit argument, but the interaction between teacher and student in any course which is taught in English should be considered English education. Beyond academia, the experience for a foreign student of living in the U.S.—watching television, read-

ing newspapers, talking to neighbors—should also be considered English education.

When these foreign students graduate and go home, they take more with them than their academic degrees and technical expertise; that is, they take more than the surface level communicative meaning conveyed in their academic English language interactions. They also take many illocutionary political statements which were made and inferred during their years of living in the U.S. political system. Perhaps most importantly, they take their exposure to U.S. basic freedoms—freedom of speech, press, and religion.

The People's Republic of China has been one of the largest foreign suppliers of students to U.S. universities in recent years. I see an example of this philosophical value transfer in the Statue of Liberty erected in Tiananmen Square last year. The quintessential symbol of U.S. freedom from oppression was used in China by Chinese students, some of whom had studied in the United States, as part of a movement for massive political change.

Of course, countries besides the U.S. recognize—and use—the political power of language. When I visited Dr. Sun Yat Sen University of Medical Sciences in Guangzhou (Canton), People's Republic of China in 1988, I met many students from Africa, Cuba, and North Korea. They were all from countries with which China has ideological ties; they had all been given complete scholarships to study medicine; they were all studying in Mandarin. China was using its educational resources very effectively for ideological reasons: Those students would go back to their home countries with an excellent education and a high regard for China and the Chinese political system.

It is important to realize that the United States is not alone in promoting political ideology through educational language policy. English is certainly the most powerful language of international education in the world today, but it is not without competition.

Of course there is another benefit to the United States besides ideology in the education of foreign students: Money. The demographics of the United States have changed as the baby boom generation has grown older. Great higher education systems which were built or expanded 20 or 30 years ago to accommodate a large student-aged population are not filled today. Universities and colleges, therefore, are going overseas in increasing numbers to entice foreign students into U.S. schools in order to supplement this low enrollment and recover lost revenues. Naturally, every sector of the economy benefits from an increased student population. The university generates tuition revenue; local businesses and rental agencies are able to sell more goods and rent more apartments; the state and federal governments collect more sales and excise taxes.

The promotion of English for educational purposes by the United States, like the promotion of English as the international language of business, can therefore be seen as language imperialism. The educational resources of the United States are provided to students of the world in a single language, English; native speakers control this English education and are able to benefit—in this case both ideologically and commercially.

However, English as an international language of education is not following the same continuum it is following as the international language of business. In business, English is the undisputed language of international communication. Gradually, the ownership of the language is shifting from sole native speaker possession to a broader base. To use a business metaphor, nonnative speakers of English are buying stock in English and will soon be in a position of considerable control.

The ownership of English is not desired by other countries for educational purposes, however. For various nationalistic reasons, most countries understandably choose to use their own native language for national education. Due to this lack of ownership interest, and due to the fact that the U.S. has advanced technology that many countries want and an educational system capable of disseminating that technology to a large population of students, the United States currently has no serious

competition for controlling interest in English as the language of international education.

The competition is not for control of English, but for control of international education itself. In the vagaries of the future, U.S. technological and educational resources will probably decrease relative to other countries'. It is possible that the language of some other country—China, for instance—which is vigorously promoted for ideological and educational purposes, may seriously threaten or even supersede English as the most powerful international language of education.

A New English Language Statesmanship

In this final section, I would like to discuss the political use of English by the U.S. and its citizens in the future. I am a citizen of the United States and a teacher of English to speakers of other languages, so I find this an important issue to consider.

Ideology

I believe it is important to maintain a broad perspective when analyzing the U.S.'s ideological use of the English language. It is undeniably language imperialism designed to promote the philosophical values of the United States. But it is also, compared to some governmental methods of influencing citizens of other countries, for instance military conquests or trade embargoes, considerably less traumatic and certainly less physically harmful.

The difference between an ideological promotion through the English language and the promotion of ideology through, for instance, support for the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, is not one of impact, but rather one of directness. When the United States supports a military force which seeks to gain power through military means, the U.S. is making a very direct ideological statement: We don't like the Sandinists, and we are willing to take drastic measures to oust them.

Ideological promotion through language use is considerably less direct. I described it as an enthymeme above. The U.S. makes a single proposition to people in other countries—perhaps that the U.S. is generous, perhaps that we have freedom of religion—and leaves it up to the receivers to complete the argument and draw conclusions. Our ideological language policy is subtle, not aggressive—the U.S. does not force conclusions on anyone.

But, as is common with enthymemes, our ideological promotion through English is a surprisingly effective method of persuasion, as in the Tiananmen Square value transfer I mentioned above. This effectiveness escalates relatively when we consider that our English language policy is also a gesture of good will—no hard feelings are engendered toward the U.S. when we make English education available to the world. This same cannot be said when the U.S. or our surrogates embark on military invasions and innocent people are killed.

For these reasons, I urge a greater promotion of English for ideological purposes. This goal can be accomplished by allocating more resources to our existing agencies, VOA, the USIS, and the Peace Corps, and also by seeking to expand their influence in countries where they presently do not operate. I read recently that the Peace Corps will soon offer a one-year contract to experienced English teachers who, being in the midst of a teaching career, cannot volunteer for the present two-year commitment. This is an excellent idea and is exactly the kind of expansion of existing programs that I support. Not only would the increase in teaching staff enable the Peace Corps to serve more people, but the greater skill of these experienced teachers would increase the overall teaching effectiveness of program.

New agencies could also be established. For instance, English educational television programs could be broadcast by satellite to countries which have an existing television system. Many developing countries have television systems. If offered freely to the world through satellite television links, U.S. English education, and its concurrent ideology, could reach a significant population.

The English language is a powerful ideological tool which perhaps the U.S. government underestimates in favor of more aggres-

sive actions. If the U.S. can achieve even a small part of its worldwide ideological goals through language promotion, instead of resorting to more harmful methods, the world as a whole will be better served.

Business

The U.S.'s contemporary promotion of English for business purposes can be seen as motivated by either the philosophy of the British Empire or the philosophy of the Marshall Plan. If the United States is out to control the world economically through the English language, then the U.S. is using English like a weapon with which to subjugate other economies and reap disproportionate benefits for itself. The United States is then an extension of the departed British Empire, but for the physical possession of territory, and is deserving of all the unflattering adjectives I heaped on the Raj in previous sections.

But if the U.S.'s promotion of English bears a similarity to the Marshall Plan, it can be seen as assisting other countries toward international communication self-sufficiency: The promotion is helping create a medium through which businesses in countries where English is not the native language can successfully and independently communicate with their international subsidiaries and trading partners.

The Marshall Plan's economic policies, of course, were not selfless. By reinvigorating European economies, new markets were opened for American products, and American business boomed. Selfish motivations can also be found in a corresponding language policy. U.S. business holds an advantage in being able to communicate internationally in its native language; this advantage will continue until that day in the future when everyone in the world can speak the international language of business as well as citizens of the United States. But the spirit of the language policy would also be like the Marshall Plan: English as the international language of business would benefit both the U.S. and many other countries as well.

I think the Marshall Plan metaphor, and the U.S. goal of international communication self-sufficiency, is correct; and I would like to see the U.S. government become more involved in the teaching of English for business purposes in order to more efficiently achieve this goal.

I believe the best way for the U.S. to further support English as the international language of business is to do more to guarantee the quality of English language teaching. There are thousands of English language schools all over the world which teach English to businesspeople. The better these businesspeople learn English, the better they will be able to conduct business in English, and the more successful will be U.S. efforts to create a universally beneficial language of international business communication.

I suggest that an agency of the U.S. government become directly involved in the accreditation and licensing of the thousands of English language schools and English language teachers around the world that serve a business population. I have argued (Clayton, 1989) that the English consumer public could be quite easily influenced toward better English schools with better teachers and a more effective English education through a licensing system which would recognize those teachers who had received ESL teacher training and an advertising campaign which would make the benefits of this experience clear to the public.

For very little cost, the United States could have a large impact on a subcomponent of English language instruction which is currently unregulated. The quality of English language instruction would increase, the English education public would be better served, and the business world, as an increasingly interwoven, interdependent, and interprofitable whole, would be able to communicate with greater skill and efficiency.

Education

I support the U.S.'s promotion of English as a language of international education for the ideological reasons I mentioned above: It is a powerful and effective tool, and it is less harmful than many other methods of influencing citizens of other countires. For these reasons,

I believe the U.S. should continue to encourage students from other countries to study in U.S. universities and colleges.

We need to be careful, however, not to fall into language nationalism in our educational policies. It is currently in vogue in the United States to be protective against the Japanese; Columbia Pictures and Rockefeller Center are on everyone's lips, though the real economic impact of these acquisitions is negligible. It would be a natural, though unfortunate, compliment to this Japanese-bashing jingoism to exclude Japanese students from our educational resources. A few days ago I was talking to an administrator of a U.S. community college. He mentioned that there is a growing feeling of unfriendliness toward Japanese students on his campus; some people were voicing aggressive xenophobic sentiments.

This is dangerous. Should such feeling become government policy and Japanese students become prohibited from studying in the United States, the U.S. would be embarking on an uncharacteristic act of language nationalism: We would be using our educational policy to separate groups, rather than to draw those groups together. We need to be very careful not to let pressures from other political motivations influence our educational policy.

However, I also believe there are cases where language nationalism should be enacted —where groups should be threatened with separation from our educational resources—in order to effect social change in other countries' educational systems. For instance, my college and other two-year colleges in Malaysia are all racially segregated. Most of the students in these colleges go on to complete bachelor's degrees in American universities and colleges. A prescriptive nationalist use of our language policy could be to suggest that Malaysia desegregate its colleges and offer equal educational opportunity to all races, a policy more in line with our own ideological philosophies. The power behind this suggestion would be, of course, that the government of the United States holds the right to refuse these students entry into the country and into the U.S. higher education system.

This prescriptive use of our English language policy would have to be used charily. There are many potential dangers in the plan: It could be invoked to satisfy other-than-educational motivations in the United States; it could become a tool of U.S. partisan politics; it could be used to attempt change outside the educational systems of other countries. I do not mean to set the U.S. on a course toward educational fascism.

However, if used intelligently and with limited scope, I believe the prescriptive power of language nationalism could be a positive political tool. If such prescriptions would encourage even a few instances of educational desegregation along race, gender, or religion lines, then the policy, in my opinion, would be justified.

Personal statesmanship

All of us who teach English make political statements through the act of teaching our language. If we work for an agency of the U.S. government like the Peace Corps, or if we work for a governmentally funded university or college, we are agents of explicit government policies or regulations which reflect the philosophies of the United States toward citizens of other countries. If we are citizens of the United States teaching in private schools which are not funded through the government, we still influence other people by exposing them to our values, our customs, and our political culture. If we teach English for the government of another country, we similarly may be agents of that government's policies and political philosophies. Elliot Judd (1984) summed this concept up eloquently when he wrote, "The teaching of English to speakers of other languages...is a political act" (p. 265).

When I went to Malaysia, I had not thought deeply about my political responsibilities as an English language teacher. I wanted to go to Malaysia because I had enjoyed teaching Malaysian students in the U.S., because I wanted to gain an extra-U.S. world view, and because I thought it would be an adventure to

live in Southeast Asia. These were entirely selfish motivations.

I did not consider that I would be influencing my students ideologically by exposing them to my U.S. background, values and culture. I certainly did not consider that this influence would be in some cases contrary to the religious interests of my college and the government, and I did not anticipate the problems that ensued.

Neither did I consider that, by working for the Malaysian government, I would become an agent of their policies, though this is precisely what happened. My actions—teaching, advising, interacting—as an employee of the government, the Ministry of Education, and my college, made a very strong illocutionary political statement: I supported the government policy of educational racial segregation.

My point in this final anecdote is not to attempt a personal catharsis of guilt, but to demonstrate the larger political drama in which we as English language teachers play powerful—and sometimes unintentional—roles. We must recognize that our actions as English language teachers make powerful political statements, though these statements may be far removed from our personal values; and we must accept full responsibility for whatever those political statements are. If the statements are unethical, or if they deny the basic freedoms that we insist upon for ourselves from other people or groups of people, then we must take action to change the situation.

Teaching English is not an isolated act, and it should not be a selfish act. We touch students in the same way a pebble touches water—the ripples are, theoretically, infinite. TESOL professionals need to recognize this power and learn to use it positively.

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BRIGHT IDEAS

Note Taking

David Wardell

More and more Japanese students are setting their sights on education overseas. According to the Ministry of Education, a total of 3,165 Japanese high school students spent more than three months in foreign school systems in 1986; this number was expected to exceed 4000 in 1989.

Because of this trend, a valuable trait for language teachers to cultivate in second language learners is note taking; the ability to listen carefully and to gather information well will contribute to a student's success in overseas learning environments. The following technique has proven useful in developing this skill.

Preparation

Materials required are either a video or tape recorder, a prerecorded lecture, and a teacher-prepared worksheet.

First, the teacher should record a lecture using a video or tape recorder. Be certain to consider the age, language ability, and special interests of the class when selecting the lecture material; topics should be relevant to the learners' immediate needs and challenging to—yet not beyond—their linguistic competence. Naturally, the content of the lecture for a junior high class would necessarily be different from a lecture designed for those at the university or in a business training course.

Using someone other than the regular teacher to deliver this lecture is one way to introduce students to a variety of speaking styles. Japanese teachers of English who have Assistant English Teachers (AETs) in their classrooms may find that this activity offers a good opportunity to use the native-speaking talents of these assistants. Delivery should be natural and at a normal—not necessarily rapid—speed.

Next, the instructor should review this recording and prepare a set of notes on its content. Pay particular attention to the way in which unfamiliar terms are identified and defined as well as how complex ideas are analyzed and relationships developed. In most cases, this process of scrutinizing the text parallels the task teachers perform when analyzing material to determine comprehension questions on an examination.

From these teacher's notes, a worksheet can be prepared for the student activity. Some items which appear on the teacher's form should be left blank on the worksheet. Again, the length and complexity of this worksheet depends upon the linguistic competence of the members of the class. A worksheet for a beginning-level group might resemble a partially completed matrix or a cloze activity that has only a few of the most significant names, facts, or numbers missing. On the other hand, a worksheet for advanced students can take the form of an outline with the organizational design of the lecture shown, yet with nearly all the "facts" missing. In this approach, the listening activity requires not only the gathering of information but also the ordering of this data into a pattern which illustrates the relationship

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between major ideas and supporting evidence.

Note Taking Examples: Three Levels

The following three figures illustrate the different ways lectures and worksheets might be designed for beginning, intermediate, or advanced learners.

FIGURE 1
Beginning Level

Lecture: The Shopping Trip

Last week Sally and Bill went shopping. First, they went to the supermarket. Bill bought four oranges and a dozen eggs. Sally bought three apples and a loaf of bread. Next, Sally and Bill went to the flower shop. At the flower shop Sally bought two roses and Bill bought four tulips. Finally, Bill and Sally went to a sweet shop. At the sweet shop Bill bought five donuts and Sally bought a chocolate cake.

Worksheet: The Shopping Trip

Complete the chart. Tell where Bill and Sally went first, second, and third. Also, list the number and kind of items they bought in each store.

APPLES BREAD DONUTS CAKE
EGGS TULIPS ORANGES ROSES

	BILL	SALLY
FLOWER SHOP # _____		
SUPERMARKET # _____		
SWEET SHOP # _____		

FIGURE 2
Intermediate Level

Lecture: Volcanoes

Today, I would like to talk to you about volcanoes. As you know, a volcano is a kind of mountain that sometimes explodes. When a volcano explodes, fire, steam, and lava shoot into the air from the top of the volcano. The temperature at the top of an exploding volcano is very hot. The lava that comes out of the volcano is actually melted stones. These stones are so hot that they turn into liquid form and sometimes make a river of fire as the lava flows down the side of the mountain. There are three types of volcanoes. The first type of volcano is called "active." When a mountain is exploding, it is an active volcano. The second type of volcano is called "dormant" or sleeping. A mountain that has not erupted for a long time is known as a dormant volcano. Mt. Fuji is a dormant volcano because someday it may erupt again. The last kind of volcano is called "extinct." A volcano is extinct when all activity has stopped. Extinct volcanoes will never erupt again.

Worksheet: Volcanoes

Topic: Volcanoes
Definition: Volcano = _____
Results of an explosion:
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____ lava _____
Lava = _____
Three kinds of volcanoes:
a. _____ = a volcano that is exploding.
b. _____ = a volcano that is resting.
c. _____ = a volcano that no longer explodes.

FIGURE 3
Advanced Level

Lecture text from "In Japan the Woman Is the Boss?" by G. Fields, in *From Bonsai to Levis* (pp. 59-75), 1983, New York: New American Library.

Lecture: Japanese Housewives As Consumers

Today's lecture is about the Japanese housewife and her role as a consumer. To market researchers, no one is more important than the housewife because of her financial power in the marketplace; there is no difference between East and West in this sense.

This is not to say, however, that American and

Japanese housewives are identical in their behaviors. For instance, the Japanese housewife spends far less time cleaning the house and polishing the furniture than her counterparts in the West. The Japanese house is smaller, and as a consequence, housewives in Japan have relatively little furniture to care for. To counterbalance this, they spend more time laundering than American housewives.

Studies also reveal that Japanese housewives spend far less time in the kitchen than their Western counterparts. There is less need to spend a lot of time preparing a Japanese meal, which is largely ingredient- rather than course-oriented. No homemade cakes, pies, or casseroles occupy the time of the average Japanese housewife.

On the other hand, Japanese housewives devote a great deal of time to shopping, and this is the opposite of women in the West. The Japanese housewife shops almost every day, but the Western housewife shops in bulk and only a few times a week.

Unlike her Western counterpart, the Japanese housewife doesn't have a shopping list because she really doesn't know what she is going to buy before she leaves home. She scrutinizes the fresh foods available for quality and price; she looks for the best buy of the day.

The Japanese housewife prefers the small, specialty fresh food stores over the supermarket. This is reasonable because the shopkeepers are able to provide reliable advice that is unavailable in the impersonal supermarkets.

While Western housewives tend to do all of their shopping at a single store, Japanese housewives usually visit more than one store during an average shopping trip. They visit the supermarket because there they can get good buys on such items as detergents, coffee, and toilet tissue. For fish, meat, and vegetables, Japanese housewives prefer the smaller specialty shops.

Worksheet: Housewives As Consumers

Topic: _____

Significance: _____

DIFFERENCES

	JAPAN	THE WEST
1.	_____	
	Reason: _____	
2.	_____	
3.	_____	
	Reason: _____	
4.	_____	
5.	_____	
	Reason: _____	
6.	_____	
	Reason: _____	
7.	_____	
	Reason: _____	

Procedure

After distributing worksheets to the class, deliver the lecture using the live presentation by an AET or the prerecorded tape or video. As students listen, they should follow the worksheet filling in the missing sections. Once completed, this worksheet gives not only an outline of the lecture's content, but also provides a model which may assist in developing rhetorical styles in related writing assignments.

A useful methodology to follow using this technique is to present the lecture two times with a discussion period sandwiched in between. First, the class listens and takes notes. Next, the class—either as a group or in pairs—talks through the worksheet comparing answers and sharing information with one another. And finally, the lecture is repeated; students check their work and refine their data.

Evaluation

Once the lecture and note-taking process has been completed, the teacher may hand out a "mini-quiz" for students to take using their notes as support. Figure 4 (top of column 2, page 52) illustrates a mini-quiz for the advanced level lecture shown above.

Whether or not these mini-quizzes are collected and graded is a teacher's individual prerogative. Personally, I never mark and record scores from these quizzes because I view the activity as a developmental procedure

that should remain non-threatening and held apart from quantitative evaluation. In my classes, we quickly compare answers to the quiz and then move on to another activity. Ultimately, those students who have mastered the intellectual processes requisite for skillful note taking will demonstrate excellence within other testing environments.

To assist students in immediately evaluating the notes they have taken, a sheet showing suggested answers for the note taking worksheet is distributed. Figure 5 (below) is a sample answer sheet for the advanced lecture.

FIGURE 4
Advanced Level Mini-Quiz

Mini-Quiz: Japanese Housewives as Consumers

1. List three reasons Japanese housewives are different from American housewives.
2. Explain the reason Japanese housewives prefer small specialty shops.
3. Although not specifically stated, the lecturer suggests reasons American housewives prefer supermarkets. Discuss these reasons.

FIGURE 5
Advanced Level Sample Answer Sheet: Japanese Housewives as Consumers

Topic: The Japanese housewife and her role as a consumer
Significance: Her financial power in the marketplace

DIFFERENCES

	JAPAN	THE WEST
1.	Spends less time cleaning house	Has large house and lots of furniture
	Reason: Japanese houses are smaller	
2.	Spends more time laundering	
3.	Spends less time in kitchen	Prepares cakes, pies, and casseroles
	Reason: Japanese meal ingredient-oriented	
4.	Shops almost every day	Shops only a few times each week
5.	Doesn't use shopping list	Uses shopping list
	Reason: Japanese don't plan purchases but Westerners buy in bulk planning for future meals	
6.	Prefers small specialty shops	Uses supermarkets
	Reason: Small shops offer reliable advice	
7.	Visits more than one store	Shops in one store
	Reason: Better bargains in different shops	

At first, when this technique is unfamiliar to the class, permit students to work in pairs or groups. This creates a less threatening atmosphere and may enable strong students to guide weaker ones in using effective listening strategies. Note that when students work alone, some may "get lost" and miss parts of the lecture while trying to locate the correct place on their worksheets. To overcome this problem, allow the class to hear the lecture once before starting the worksheet activity.

As a follow-up, repeat this same lecture several weeks later without the worksheet. Have the class take notes using a blank sheet. Afterwards, let the students compare these notes with their earlier worksheets to identify which areas are missing or incomplete.

Conclusion

Note-taking activities sharpen students' listening comprehension, cultivate an understanding of culturally different rhetorical patterns, and provide a way to integrate content materials from other areas of the curriculum into the language classroom. Development of these linguistic skills has long-range benefits for the students—not only in their own society, but also in the international community.

Task Writing for Conversation Courses

N. Ann Chenoweth

With the current focus on communicative language teaching, emphasis in many courses has been placed on developing listening and speaking skills. One result has been that reading and writing skills are neglected. In Japan, this tendency has been reinforced by the proliferation of English conversation schools, the demand for company-sponsored conversation classes, and the increase in oral skills classes at the university level. A common goal for most Japanese students of English seems to be, as one of my students phrased it, "I want to speaking English more and more freely."

However, teachers should not overlook reading and writing, assuming that in a conversation class it is appropriate to teach only listening and speaking. Our students are increasingly likely to find themselves in situations which require an ability to use and respond to both oral and written English; our classes should prepare them for these situations.

Many teachers will hesitate at this point, thinking that incorporating writing into their conversation classes will necessarily require a large investment of time for correction. This article will show how teachers can use writing tasks in their classrooms to provide naturalistic language practice without significantly increasing their own workloads. I will first look at some underlying principles of task-based learning, then consider the basic components of a successful writing task, and conclude with a few examples of writing tasks which involve the students in real communication.

Rationale

Communicative language tasks are useful because they involve learners in the target language: They require that students attend to meaning instead of focusing primarily on form. As Nunan (1989) points out, by completing language learning tasks in classrooms, students "develop the skills they will need for carrying out real-world communicative tasks beyond the classroom" (p. 38).

The majority of students enrolled in conversation courses are more likely to need to write clear directions or produce coherent discourse of the sort found in letters and postcards than to write essays of an academic nature. A task-based approach lends itself naturally to these needs.

The goal in a typical conversation course is to get the students to use the target language to communicate. Since in large classes it is impractical to have students speak only with the teacher, it makes sense to have the students communicate with each other. This can be achieved through information gap tasks. In these activities, each participant in a pair or a group is given a different piece of information; the students then share their individual pieces of information orally in order to understand the whole idea. Information gap tasks have become accepted among teachers as appropriate for speaking practice. Somehow, though, the idea has not yet been carried over to writing.

However, just as these speaking tasks provide a reason for interaction, so writing tasks allow students to communicate through writing. Further, if the task is set up so that the reader will have to use the content of the text to do something, the task will more closely mirror real-world communication, and students will not be producing texts just to show they have mastered a particular function or a certain grammatical structure. If this extra purpose is missing, the students may be satisfied with producing the bare minimum to meet the requirements of the assignment, and the resultant product will seem very mechanical and lifeless. In addition, students will not know if they were able to express their ideas in a way that was understood by the reader.

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However, if the assignment is structured so that other students must read and use the content in some way, then the writers will have a concrete basis for evaluating their work and more of a reason to put some life into what they write. This is, after all, close to how most of our real-world writing is assessed: Did it communicate the intended meaning?

Constructing Successful Writing Tasks

As mentioned above, typical speaking activities involve students in pairs or small groups working on an information gap activity. The missing information provides a reason for oral communication. This same principle can also apply to writing tasks. There is an additional practical benefit: Many of the speaking tasks found in student textbooks can be easily modified to become suitable writing tasks.

For example, a typical speaking task involves students describing pictures of people. Students can write descriptions of different pictures, and later, student readers match the pictures with the descriptions. Another variation can be to have each student draw a picture of a person first and then describe it in writing. Students get into groups, exchange drawings and descriptions (mixed up) with another group, and then match each drawing with the corresponding description.

Normally these tasks should be preceded by listening and speaking activities and any overt teaching of the requisite language. In some cases the writing will lead to a further speaking or listening task; in other cases it will lead to more writing.

As seen in the example, students read each other's work and then complete some kind of task. It is essential therefore to design the assignment with a built-in task, since the main criterion for evaluating each student's work is centered on whether the intended meaning was successfully communicated. Was the student reader able to complete the task? This differs from traditional peer evaluation because the students are not responding to the correctness of the form of writing—they are using the content of the writing to do something. Of course, they often do give each other feedback on form so that the writer can correct any mistakes, but this is not the reader's main purpose.

This form of evaluation frees the teacher from the limiting role of evaluator; it also leads to increased interaction among the students as they share their work. Having the students read each other's papers also allows them to see how others have done the same task. This can be especially beneficial for beginning writers who often can only visualize one approach to a task (Flower & Hayes, 1980).

Teachers are thus freed of the burden of reading everything their students write. They can collect student papers after they have been read in class and evaluate them separately, but students are generally satisfied with the feedback they get as a result of the task.

Some Sample Tasks

Tasks can be broadly divided into two categories: simple *information gaps*, and those which require *negotiation* to complete.

Information gap tasks

Tasks of this type include matching pictures and descriptions, as described above. They also include other types of writing where not all the information is known; for example, students can be asked to draw in additions to "complete" illustrations in their textbooks. Tasks of this type would include adding furniture to pictures appearing in units dealing with location of objects in a room or adding buildings to maps in chapters devoted to teaching students how to give directions. The students then write a note to a partner describing the additions they have made (where the furniture is located or how to get to the new building from point X). Partners exchange and read each other's notes, try to make the same additions to the illustration, and finally confirm their additions with each other.

The amount of explanation that teachers give their students about the reasons for writing will vary from class to class; with lower-level students, it is generally best to keep these explanations simple to avoid confusion.

If the students have been talking about vacation travel plans or if they have been working on "going to do something," then they can write notes to each other describing their vacation plans in X country. For this activity, they will need a simple map of the world. Many student books include such maps. After drawing their routes on these maps and writing about their plans, including at least three destinations and some description of what they want to see or do in each place, they exchange letters with a partner. The students then read the letters and trace their partner's route on either their map or another blank map using a different color ink. In the end, partners compare their maps. Did the reader draw the same route as the writer?

Negotiation tasks

With more complex tasks involving negotiation, new information is introduced midway through the task, and the two writers must reach a consensus based on their opinions. After the students have exchanged letters in the vacation map task described above, the teacher can tell them they should travel together. They then write their partner a letter proposing this joint travel arrangement and suggesting an alternate route that would incorporate parts of both original plans.

Sometimes it is possible to combine a variety of responses to a piece of writing. After filling in the route on the map in the vacation map task (in other words, after establishing that the basic message was communicated), students can then complete short notes to each other responding to the content. These notes can *comment* on the plan ("you are trying to go too many places"), *offer advice* ("don't eat too much pasta or you will become fat"), *express envy* ("I wish I could come with you"), or *make requests* ("please bring me many souvenirs").

Additionally, the student "going on the trip" can be asked to write a post card from some point on the trip to his or her class partner. Often these cards are quite realistic, as students frequently draw pictures for the front of their cards. This high level of involvement is typical when task-based writing is used.

Conclusion

As we have seen, these writing tasks can be created by adjusting oral information gap activities or negotiation tasks to a written format. Using these tasks thus allows teachers to integrate writing into their conversation classes in a natural way. However, when designing or adapting these sorts of writing tasks, it is very important to consider what the writing is going to be used for. In a class which emphasizes the communicative use of English, the writing that students are asked to do should reflect that purpose and should keep "display writing" or "writing to the teacher" to a minimum.

Task writing provides opportunities for students to use the target language in natural ways that are intrinsically involving, motivating, fun, and applicable to real-world situations. In addition, since the writing students produce is used in realistic ways, with the writers held accountable by their peers for the content, it frees teachers from their traditional role as wielders of the red pen. Thus, teachers can give students frequent chances to write without becoming overwhelmed by the daunting task of correction.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Eloise Pearson for her insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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Teaching with Imperfect Language

Curtis Chapman

I had never felt more frustrated in my life. My first lecture contained 90 minutes of assorted one-word explanations, grunts, hand signals, and drawings. After a lot of sweat and tears, my Japanese students knew no more English than they did before coming into the classroom. We simply did not speak the same language. These students, 15 adults in a community evening class, understood a few isolated words at best. They probably understood more by way of what I did not say—by my facial expressions and stick people—than by my verbal attempts. These nonverbal forms, however, were unplanned, spur-of-the-moment attempts to make a functional language point.

Most teachers naturally rely on spontaneity. The problem is that spontaneity without guidance leaves students on their own to follow a teacher's line of reasoning. I realized that teaching spontaneously was not without some benefit for my students. I could adjust to each new situation and simplify explanations accordingly. It was essential, though, to eliminate haphazard elements and direct student attention to specific language items.

The goal of this article, therefore, is to suggest a technique that systematizes second language instruction using both linguistic and paralinguistic forms. Linguistic forms include single words, phrases, and sentence fragments—either written or spoken. Paralinguistic forms, on the other hand, include drawings, symbols, and gestures. The most important feature of this technique is that both teachers and students use various communicative modes. Since language learners by definition lack the verbal skills necessary for full and complete expression in the target language, they should be allowed to use alternative means for exchanging information.

This technique may prove beneficial when working with low-level students, especially at the beginning of a term and at various points throughout. Furthermore, teachers who can offer instruction in the target language only may find this technique a useful supplement to more standard approaches such as the Silent Way or Total Physical Response.

The next step is to explain the system in terms of practical classroom application. There are three main stages: 1) *Formulating the Question*; 2) *Initial Student Response*; and 3) *Giving One-to-One Feedback*. Stage 1 occurs during preparation; Stages 2 and 3 involve actual classroom procedure.

Formulating the Question

The primary consideration in this stage is to formulate an information-seeking question or request that creates a genuine need for communication. At the same time, the anticipated communication should provide exposure to—and practice with—appropriate functions and grammatical forms. Thus, while planning the lesson, teachers should consider two elements simultaneously: first, topics that permit students to share real information about their lives, interests, and dreams; and second, grammatical or functional focuses.

The question or request is all-important. It is the one item that gives the teacher control over the lesson. Syntactic and discourse constraints inherent in the question often limit the answer and its structure. After deciding the grammatical (syntactic) or functional (discourse) focus of your lesson, design the question so as to elicit those predetermined patterns. Students need not know, until after the fact, that they have been working with the past tense or the passive, describing or recommending. Also, think about restricting the number of responses students can make to about four or five.

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FIGURE 1
Question, Grammar, Function Possibilities

QUESTION	GRAMMAR	FUNCTION
What did you do yesterday?	Past Tense, Irregular	Describing
Explain how to do your favorite hobby	Imperative, Sequence	Giving Advice
Tell me how to find your home	Imperative, Location	Giving Directions
What will you do on your next vacation?	Modals	Predicting

Figure 1 (above) outlines some examples of questions and their corresponding grammatical or functional emphases. To ensure that a question or request will address your particular concern, answer or respond to it yourself.

The last part of this preparation stage is to select an activity that will support and possibly help answer the primary question. As will be explained in more detail later, students spend a lot of time waiting for the one-to-one conference. They need something constructive to occupy their time. Vocabulary exercises, textbook work, and group activities which are related to the grammatical or functional goal of the exercise are recommended.

Initial Student Response

Akin to the Silent Way, teachers say very little to introduce the exercise. Simply walk into the classroom, write the focus question or request on the board, draw four to five empty squares, and begin answering with pictures, words, and gestures. In other words, use all the linguistic and paralinguistic means available to explain your personal answer.

After the demonstration, you must check and make sure all the students understand the topic. As a last resort, be prepared to ask the question or make the request in the students' language(s). Your class must understand this focus item if the activity is to have any chance of being successful.

See Figure 2 (below) for an example of how Student A represented the instructions for my focus question "Explain how to do your hobby" in his notes; the five response limitation is signified by five empty squares in a grid.

FIGURE 2
Student Response Grid: Hobby Procedure

Hobby Name

(1)	(2)
(3)	(4)
(5)	

Ideally, students will begin attempts at answering the question in their own ways. Some may misunderstand and simply copy the teacher's version. Plagiarism and dictionary use are unacceptable bases for output. If there is total confusion, do not panic. Remain calm and be persistent. Go from student to student and give each one an example. Try to discern what the student wishes to say and complete the first square for him. Encourage each one to carry on and finish the exercise himself.

The crucial element in this initial response period is to convince the students that drawings, single words, phrases, and symbols are inherently meaningful. Also insist that they answer in their own words or pictures. Expect this stage to take a full hour or longer.

See Figure 3, Columns 1 and 2 (page 58) for Student A's initial response to my request "Explain how to do your hobby."

FIGURE 3
Student A's Paralinguistic and Linguistic Productions; Teacher-Provided Model Forms
Focus Request: Explain How To Do Your Hobby

COLUMN 1 *Paralinguistic Production*	COLUMN 2 *Linguistic Production*	COLUMN 3 *Model Forms*
(1) stand-position	First, you must be carefully stand—position.	First, you must address the ball.
(2) swing	Second: You must hit a ball ~~very~~ ~~wo~~ from inside to out	Second, you must swing from the inside out.
(3) strait hit	Third - You must hit straight ball.	Third, you must try to hit the ball straight.
(4) 	Fourth. You must ~~be~~ avoid the bunker and ~~on~~ hit~~s~~ on the green.	Fourth, you must avoid the bunker and hit your ball on the green.
(5) putting	hit quiet Fifth. You must be ~~putting quite~~ putt in the hole	Fifth, you must concentrate and knock your ball in the hole.

One-to-One Feedback

This stage begins the next class. Students bring back the work they have done the previous day. Give each one the supplementary exercise (see the last paragraph in *Formulating the Question*) and divide the room in half. For

example, if you have ten students, nine will begin the work you have chosen as a supplement on one side of the room. The one-to-one student-teacher conference takes place on the other side of the room. When the first student finishes this conference, send him back to the group of nine with instructions to begin the supplemental assignment. Select another student from the larger group and conduct a private conference with him. Continue this rotation until all the students have a chance to meet with you directly.

The key during the one-to-one conference is to teach model forms that reflect the initial output students have produced. First, let the student try to explain his ideas. Identify the problems. Then for every mark, picture, word—anything that indicates a meaning—model the appropriate target language forms in writing and speech. Write the model responses and ask the student to read aloud. Check pronunciation. Then ask the student to reproduce, without the assistance of notes, the whole set of expressions you have given him. If he forgets or hesitates, use the symbol or picture he produced as a cue.

In modeling the language, make every attempt to match the student's intentions. Be careful, however, not to make too many assumptions as to what the student intends to say. If there is no output, do not say or write anything. Require that the student at least try to respond in some form or fashion.

See Figure 3 Column 3 (page 58) for the model forms I gave to Student A. For example, his initial golfing explanation "First, you must be carefully stand position" becomes "First, you must address the ball"; and his explanation "Fifth, you must be hit quiet putt in the hole" becomes "Fifth, you must concentrate and knock your ball in the hole."

This stage of input and support work can be extended into another day, if you are working with limited time and a large class. Encourage students to work on the focus question at home. Begin the third day by dividing the class into groups again. Announce a new supplemental exercise and resume one-to-one conferences.

With regard to testing, simply repeat the focus question or request. Include selected items from the support material if you wish. Permit no notes or open books. Design this test so that you can insist on and enforce a target-language-only policy. Your goal is to have students perfectly reproduce the model forms that were discussed during the one-to-one conferences. If they are struggling, give them partial credit for using drawings, single words, or phrases. No credit should be given to responses that appear in a student's native language.

Conclusion

Teaching with linguistic and paralinguistic forms is designed primarily for those who teach language as communication. However, teachers whose major focus is grammar can also use this technique at the beginning of a term to discover students' personal interests. This procedure can be used over and over or combined with other approaches throughout a course. Alternating this question-response approach with other interactive exercises is recommended to ensure variety.

Learning a foreign language can be a frustrating task indeed, especially for adults. When a mature mind is reduced to child-like expressions that even then may or may not effectively transfer meaning, there is a great potential for anger, embarrassment, or dread. Drawing pictures or using language fragments may not give adults full satisfaction. Nevertheless, most mature learners will see how paralinguistic means, in conjunction with model forms, can significantly increase their ability to interact—not only with teachers but with other individuals as well.

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The Skit Project: Teaching Cultural Communication Patterns

Mika Miyasone and Daniel J. Eichhorst

Ignorance about native speakers' communication patterns can account for some failure in communication in a second language. In actual English communication, we have observed that Japanese maintain the behavioral patterns of their native language. Despite near-perfect grammar and abundant vocabulary, some Japanese learners have reported an inability to achieve the sociolinguistic appropriateness that they are expected to have in actual communication settings. For Japanese EFL students to acquire communicative competence, understanding the differences between Japanese and English speaking styles is important.

The Skit Project is designed to help Japanese high school students of upper-basic to low-intermediate level recognize Japanese and English communicative behaviors, use English they have learned in their prior study, and recognize the need and difficulty of matching foreign words with the appropriate actions. The project has been successfully used in regular English as a foreign language class settings with 40-50 students in a class.

To be successful, it is necessary that the teacher be bilingual in English and Japanese as well as relatively bicultural with Japan and an English-speaking country. Taking into account the current state of English language teaching in Japan, it is rare to find such an individual, either Japanese or non-Japanese. Therefore, the approach that will be outlined in this paper will presume a team-teaching effort with one teacher being Japanese and the other a native English speaker. The project is designed so that both teachers can use their strengths. There are two correlative and fortunate results: The first is that the Japanese English teacher's English ability will improve, and the second is that the native English speaker's knowledge of Japan will increase.

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Method

The project involves four periods of in-class preparation, two periods of presentations, and one period of follow-up.

Period 1: JTE[1] makes the groups and explains the project.

The students are divided into pairs. It has been found that assigning students based on their student numbers creates a sense of fairness. Only in special cases, where there is a perceived weakness or a potential discipline problem in a pair, has this system been altered.

Basic instructions to students are:

1. Write a conversation between two or more people of two and a half to three minutes in length. This conversation will eventually be performed as a skit in front of the class. Students can play multiple roles.

2. Write student names in kanji (for the JTE) and romaji (for the AET[2]), class number, and student numbers in the upper right-hand corner of a large sheet of paper.

3. Give the conversation a title.

4. Explain the context of the conversation in Japanese. This is done so that the students themselves will have a clear idea of the conversation they want to write. In order to save time, the students are not asked to write this context in English.

This context becomes important for the

[1] Japanese Teacher of English

[2] Assistant English Teacher

teachers when they are circulating among the students and answering questions. Because it is not written in English, it also becomes a pretext for contact between the JTE and AET; if the students are unable to explain the context verbally to the AET, the JTE must interpret. The context also provides an opportunity for the AET to make some initial determinations about appropriate language usage.

Finally, prior to presenting their skits, the students give this context to the class orally. This context explanation gives the audience a clear understanding of the individual conversations and makes students more receptive to the conversations as they are presented.

5. Identify student roles.

6. Write the conversation. Students are instructed to write directly in English, making an effort to use the English they already know; they should consult the dictionary as little as possible. Students who succeed in doing this are often more adept in creating conversations which more closely resemble those of native speakers of English. Conversely, students who first write in Japanese tend to end up with English versions of Japanese speaking styles.

The conversation must include a greeting and a closing. The topic of the conversation is the students' choice, but it must include either inviting or being invited, offering or receiving, or accepting or declining.

As the writing process begins, students are encouraged to ask questions whenever they do not know something. Both the JTE and AET monitor the students by constantly moving around the classroom. The teachers place themselves in close proximity to students so the students will be more willing to ask questions. There are times when the JTE and AET will have to work together to answer a student's question. A common case is when the AET is unfamiliar with the context of a conversation and the JTE can explain it.

Two teachers monitoring 20-25 pairs have the ability to monitor the progress of all students and make individual comments; this is normally hard to achieve in a large class setting. All correction must take place verbally. In giving verbal corrections, teachers have the opportunity to help students individually perceive some differences between Japanese and English speech patterns. Teachers should note the corrections they make and, at the end of the students' presentations, should draw comparisons between the first and the final drafts.

Period 2: The writing process continues.

Period 3: Students finish writing the conversations and turn them in to the teachers.

Period 4: Students practice presentations.

Before period four, the written conversations should be corrected by the AET to make the English expressions as natural as possible; the AET should carefully maintain the integrity of the students' initial ideas. Once the conversations have been corrected, the AET and JTE should type them for the students. This involvement shows that the teachers place value in the activity. The corrected conversations should be returned to the students a few days before period four so they can begin memorizing. Students should be informed that from this point onward a conversation can only be changed with teacher approval.

During period four, the JTE and AET help students with pronunciation, intonation, and acting. It has been found that the teachers' time is mostly spent dealing with pronunciation and intonation and that the students can be left to use their own imaginations for the acting.

Periods 5, 6, and 7: Students present the conversations; teachers make comments and give model presentations.

The students in each group are informed of the period in which they will present their conversation. The presentations are given in front of the class. At the beginning of the presentation, the previously written context is given in Japanese to the class. The use of props is encouraged. A special classroom without desks should be prepared for the presentations,

and the presentations should be videotaped.

It is assumed that by this time all English expressions will be natural. As students listen to the presentations, they should inductively recognize some communicative behavior differences between Japanese and English. While presentations are being made, the teachers should be noting those groups whose nonverbal actions and oral expressions are not consistent with native English speakers. Once the presentations are completed, these groups can be called upon to present their skits again. The AET can play one of the roles in these secondary presentations so as to provide a natural native model. If a videotape has been made, comments can begin with reference to the videotape. All inconsistent nonverbal actions—an improperly timed handshake, an inappropriate physical distance between speakers, etc.—should be modeled by the AET and subsequently discussed.

As a grand finale, the two teachers present two sample conversations they have written to illustrate the communication pattern differences between Japanese and English: first, an English conversation between people with native speaker communicative behaviors; and second, an English conversation between a person with native speaker communicative behaviors and a person with Japanese communicative behaviors. Two model conversations are included below.

FIGURE 1
English Communicative Behaviors

A Visit To Your Neighbor

MRS. BROWN: [*rings the doorbell*]
MRS. WHITE: Hello, Mary. I'm so glad you could come today.
MRS. BROWN: It's my pleasure.
MRS. WHITE: Please come into the kitchen while I fix us something to drink. Would you like coffee or tea?
MRS. BROWN: Tea, please.
MRS. WHITE: What would you like in your tea? I have sugar, honey, cream, and lemon.
MRS. BROWN: A slice of lemon, please.
MRS. WHITE: How about some cookies? I baked them this morning. Or how about some strawberries?
MRS. BROWN: No, thank you. I'm on a diet.
MRS. WHITE: OK. But I hope you don't mind if I have a small bowl of strawberries.
MRS. BROWN: Not at all.
[*They drink their tea. Mrs. White eats her strawberries. They chit-chat.*]
MRS. BROWN: I have to be going now. We'll have to get together again soon.
MRS. WHITE: Yes, let's.
MRS. BROWN: Thanks again. Good-bye.
MRS. WHITE: Good-bye.

FIGURE 2
English and Japanese Communicative Behaviors

A Visit To Your Neighbor

MRS. YAMADA: [*rings the doorbell*]
MRS. WHITE: Hello, Mrs. Yamada. I'm so glad you could come today.
MRS. YAMADA: Thank you for your kind invitation.
MRS. WHITE: Please come into the kitchen while I fix us something to drink. Would you like coffee or tea?
MRS. YAMADA: Whatever is most convenient.
MRS. WHITE: Oh, I can make either. Besides coffee and tea, I also have juice and cola.
MRS. YAMADA: Whatever you are having is fine.
MRS. WHITE: Well, are you sure? I'm going to have some tea. Is that all right with you?
MRS. YAMADA: Yes.
MRS. WHITE: What would you like in your tea? Sugar, honey, cream, or lemon?
MRS. YAMADA: Just sugar, please.
MRS. WHITE: How about some cookies? I baked them this morning. Or how about some strawberries?
MRS. YAMADA: Either would be fine.
MRS. WHITE: Well then, we'll have both.
[*They eat, drink, and chit-chat.*]
MRS. YAMADA: Thank you, but I'm sorry you went to so much trouble.
MRS. WHITE: It was nothing at all. Please, come again.
MRS. YAMADA: Thank you. Good-bye.
MRS. WHITE: Good-bye.

These teacher-made conversations help students realize that English communication patterns may differ from Japanese communication patterns. While the examples may appear exaggerated, they highlight some of these differences. The class can discuss the potential for misunderstanding that exists between the Japanese and the native speaker of English in the teacher-made example. Both teachers and students can also bring up additional examples of contrasts between Japanese and English communication patterns that they discovered in writing their own conversations or which they have witnessed in other situations.

Conclusion

This Skit Project can be one solution to a difficult EFL teachers' question: How can we get students to practice English in a natural, "real-life" context? Students are provided with an opportunity to create a conversation in English in a context familiar to themselves and likely to be encountered in their daily lives. They gain an understanding of their own communicative behaviors as well as those of the target language through a creative and exciting project. Also, since they present the conversation as a skit, they improve their oral and nonverbal skills.

The teachers benefit as well: They both have specific responsibilities, and they both gain from the experience—which is the essence of good team teaching.

We hope this exercise will provide a point of departure for teaching Japanese and English communicative behaviors.

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Forum:

Professionalism in International English Language Teaching

In the editorial "International Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages: Where Is Our Profession Going?" (Fall 1989), I discussed professionalism in teaching English to other language users. Basically, I said that English language teachers should have more to offer their students than native speaking ability.

I drew the distinction between "real" and"unreal" English teachers. "Real" teachers, I wrote, are academically trained and experienced language teachers; "unreal" teachers are native English speakers without training or experience who are able to find language teaching jobs due to the current high demand for English language skills. I argued that while untrained and inexperienced native speakers can function well as language teachers in certain situations, "real" language teachers are able to use their knowledge of methodology, theory, and appropriate teacher behavior to "go beyond modeling, to teaching." I proposed a standard license for ESL teachers which would increase both the level of ability in teachers and the degree of respect granted the profession. I concluded with a solicitation for responses on the issue of professionalism in English language teaching that "consider international TESOL in any situation or country."

Over the past six months, many responses have arrived at my desk. On the defamatory side, I have been accused of wasting my time with an unimportant issue and of overzealousness with regard to licensing. One person wrote, "You are the sort of guy who would license, regulate, stamp, and authorize <expletive deleted>, if the idea occurred to you."

On a more productive note, *The Daily Yomiuri*, an English language Japanese daily newspaper, reprinted the essay on its education page, leading to a month-long printed dialogue about professionalism in English language teaching in Japan. *Cross Currents* and I are indebted to editor Satoko Nozawa for her help in facilitating *The Daily Yomiuri* reprint and the subsequent discussion. One of the most interesting letters to come out of the newspaper dialogue stated, "You have reopened a discussion that merits attention in Japan. It seems to pop up every five years or so, perhaps with each generation of career TEFL people who arrive on these shores." Perhaps the discussion of English language

teaching professionalism, like Pandora's box, cannot remain closed as long as there are professionals intent on keeping it open.

The next 31 pages of this *Cross Currents* issue is devoted to the forum. The response essays and letters come from the United States, Japan, England, Canada, Thailand, Israel, and Australia. They are written by trained and untrained teachers, professors, administrators, and editors of academic journals. The authors are both native and nonnative English language users. Most of the responses discuss the standards or licensing of TESOL, though some approach the question of professionalism though teacher education and responsibility. There are many opinions.

Cross Currents is grateful to all who have contributed to this forum.

Janet Anderson-Hsieh strongly supports certification or licensure for the TESOL profession. She outlines the major areas of competence necessary for ESL teaching and demonstrates the importance of teacher education to each one. Her essay begins on page 67.

Thomas Graham argues strenuously against a TESOL license. In his essay, which starts on page 71, Graham suggests that it would be teachers, not students, who would benefit from a TESOL license.

John Staczek, page 73, writes that the responsibility for professionalism in TESOL lies with its members. Citing management research for a definition of professionalism, Staczek states that TESOL professionals must educate nonprofessional members about acceptable professional standards.

Keith Maurice relates his personal experience to arrive at a definition of professionalism based on effectiveness rather than academic credential. Maurice, page 75, plots a middle course for the TESOL profession which would encourage the participation of teachers from many different backgrounds.

René Cisneros and **Elizabeth Leone** outline a policy-making agenda for establishing international standards in the TESOL profession. They stress that these standards must reflect both the desires of TESOL professionals and the current needs of English language learners. Their essay begins on page 79.

Robert O'Neill tells the story of his first experience as an English language teacher. His essay, which begins on page 84, cautions against defining the TESOL profession "too narrowly or too jealously."

Patrick Duffley agrees that native speaking ability does not equal language teaching ability, but insists that the study of grammar, often de-emphasized in TESOL training programs, is a vitally important element of teacher education. His essay begins on page 87.

Michael Redfield, page 89, explains Japanese university hiring practices. He cautions that "before we start screaming about lack of professionalism in Japanese...TEFL" we should compare these practices with language teacher hiring practices at universities in the U.S.

Acharapan Leanhanathavuth describes the current state of the TESOL profession in Thailand. In her essay, page 91, she disagrees with the panacea of a TESOL license and suggests internal education as a method of improving the quality of the profession.

John Swales, page 93, draws on his personal experience as a "teacher-researcher" to present some opportunities and some threats for TESOL teachers who want to be "more than just teachers" within the hierarchy of the the U.S. university system.

The forum concludes with a variety of shorter letter responses.

I view this forum as a single point in the continuum of discussion which is leading to greater excellence in the TESOL profession.

Cisneros and Leone write:

> Policy-making tasks and the establishment of professional standards for ESL teachers cannot be taken on by any one group. Strong collaborative efforts must take place to bring about changes. Avenues for dialogue and action need to be through professional ties... to discuss the shared issues, problems, and solutions. (p. 83)

I have recently learned that *English Today* will reprint "International Teaching of English

to Speakers of Other Languages: Where Is Our Profession Going?" in a future issue. *Cross Currents* and I are grateful to editors Tom and Feri McArthur for their generosity in arranging this reprint. It is through collaborative efforts like this that the issues and problems of TESOL professionalism will continue to be discussed, and that standards acceptable to all concerned professionals will be established.

THOMAS CLAYTON, EDITOR

International TESOL: An Argument for Certification

Janet Anderson-Hsieh

In asking *Cross Currents* readers to consider where international TESOL is going, Clayton (1989) has presented two alternative positions: the status quo position, which is to allow untrained teachers to continue teaching ESL without licensure; and the position for change, which is to implement some kind of certification for international ESL teachers.

The problem is a complex one because, as Clayton notes, many native speakers of English without ESL training are currently teaching English in Japan, and many of them are probably conscientious in fulfilling their teaching responsibilities. Further, they are meeting a need for ESL teachers in Japan, even if they don't have the same background as professionals. In fact, many people may not agree that untrained ESL teachers are necessarily less competent than trained teachers.

Implicit in this status quo position is the assumption that nothing more than native language proficiency is required to teach ESL, and that the training ESL professionals have offers no advantage to the learner. It is this assumption I wish to challenge in this essay. I believe that to teach English as a second language competently requires knowledge and skill that generally only trained professionals can offer. This assumption has been the driving force behind ESL certification in the United States and the growth of the TESOL profession over the past 25 years (Alatis, 1987).

In arguing for certification, I will briefly describe the major areas of competence necessary for teaching English as a second language, showing how such competence on the part of the teacher can help the ESL learner. The major areas of ESL teacher competence to be discussed are those that have been outlined in the TESOL organization's *Guidelines for the Certification and Preparation of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages in the United States* (1972). Although the guidelines were written for teaching ESL in the United States, I believe the same areas of competence are necessary for teaching ESL in language teaching contexts in other parts of the world. The broad areas of knowledge and skill I will discuss below are linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, culture, and pedagogy. I will also briefly touch on the importance of professional self-improvement in a teacher's lifelong education.

Linguistics

Linguistics is concerned with the nature of language in general, as well as the structure of particular languages. The major subsystems of language studied by linguists are phonetics, phonology, syntax, and semantics. How, one might ask, can linguistic knowledge help the ESL teacher to be more effective in teaching? It could be argued that language teaching ma-

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terials provide the teacher with all necessary linguistic information, particularly when the textbook is accompanied by a well-prepared teacher's manual.

In fact, training in linguistics allows the ESL teacher to provide much more information to students than can possibly be presented in language teaching texts or teacher's manuals. A teacher with an understanding of the nature of language and the ways in which structure can vary from one language to another is much better prepared than an untrained teacher to answer the often-challenging questions ESL learners ask. A teacher trained in linguistics also has a better understanding of the relative complexity of language structures and can therefore predict better than an untrained teacher the greatest sources of difficulty for the ESL learner. In addition, training in linguistics gives the teacher the background necessary for evaluating language teaching materials and identifying any deficiencies in pedagogical descriptions of grammar.

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is concerned with the way language varies according to its social use. A basic assumption underlying sociolinguistics is that simply knowing the language—its grammar, lexicon, and phonology—is not sufficient for using the language to communicate in different social situations. In addition to possessing grammatical, lexical, and phonological competence, the native speaker must also know what to say to whom for particular purposes in particular circumstances; this kind of knowledge makes up the native speaker's sociolinguistic competence (Hymes, 1972). Thus, a trained ESL teacher should have an understanding of language functions (van Ek, 1975), as well as other factors related to the social appropriateness of language.

A trained ESL teacher should also understand the strategies used by native speakers for managing conversations and should be prepared to teach conversation management, which involves behaviors such as turn-taking, interrupting, changing the topic, and terminating the conversation (Harshbarger, 1985).

Another communication skill that the trained ESL teacher should understand and be able to teach is active listening (Cope & Acton, 1983), a technique that goes a long way in promoting favorable interaction and social harmony in the classroom, as well as being a useful communicative technique. In short, a teacher with an understanding of language functions, conversation management, and active listening is much better prepared to teach communication skills than someone without such training.

Psycholinguistics

The broad area of psycholinguistics, as defined by the TESOL guidelines, includes both first and second language acquisition, as well as age differences and differences in learning styles. A trained ESL teacher with a solid foundation in psycholinguistics fully appreciates the differences between "learning" and "acquisition" (Krashen, 1982), knowing that in order to acquire the language, it is not sufficient for the student to merely learn vocabulary and grammatical rules—the student must also use the language for communication in order to fully acquire it.

In addition, a trained ESL teacher fully appreciates the learner's "process," understanding that errors are an inevitable part of learning a second language and that they reflect the learner's interlanguage competence (Selinker, 1972). A trained ESL teacher who knows how to deal with learners' errors uses them as valuable feedback for guiding the learners to monitor their own progress. A trained ESL teacher also understands how psychological factors, such as inhibition and anxiety, can interfere with language learning; the trained ESL teacher does everything possible to create a relaxed, accepting learning environment.

Culture

A teacher with training in culture and cross-cultural communication should be more effective in teaching ESL because language teaching is a form of cross-cultural communication.

Training in cross-cultural communication sensitizes the teacher to different cultural values, expectations, roles, and ways of interacting. This kind of training helps the teacher to avoid communication breakdowns due to cross-cultural conflict. In addition, learning to appreciate different cultural perspectives helps the teacher to be more empathic, an important trait for language teaching.

Pedagogy

Trained ESL teachers have been instructed formally in language teaching pedagogy as well as having had supervised teaching experience. As a result of this training, they should thoroughly understand the language skills—reading, writing, listening, and speaking—and how they should be taught. They should also understand both the major methods for teaching languages and the innovative teaching methods that have been put forward as alternatives to them. In addition, they should understand that it is important to consider learner, teacher, and institutional variables very carefully when planning curriculum and teaching.

Broad knowledge of pedagogy and understanding of learning/teaching variables give the trained ESL teacher a great deal of flexibility that the untrained teacher does not have. From the teacher's wide repertoire of choices, he or she can select methods, exercises, and techniques that are appropriate for the learners. An untrained teacher does not have such flexibility or range of choices and thus is necessarily more limited. In short, while the untrained teacher is more likely to expect the learner to adapt to the method, the trained teacher would more likely adapt the method to the learner.

Professional Self-Improvement

In addition to having been trained in the broad areas of competence discussed above, the trained ESL teacher keeps up-to-date on the latest developments in the field by attending professional meetings and reading professional journals. A trained ESL teacher would know, for example, that cooperative learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1986) and content-based instruction (Mohan, 1986) have much to offer the ESL learner and can be adapted to a variety of ESL/EFL teaching situations. Also, the trained ESL teacher should be aware of recent technological developments, such as visual feedback for teaching pronunciation (Anderson-Hsieh, 1990), and should bring any new developments to the ESL learner whenever possible.

Advantages of Trained Teachers for ESL Learners in Japan

But what specific advantages, it might be asked, can the trained teacher offer the Japanese ESL learner, in particular? Several examples immediately come to mind. Concerning language structure, a trained ESL teacher working in Japan should be able to explain syntactic differences between Japanese and English, such as the differences between Japanese and English relative clauses, knowing that Japanese ESL learners tend to avoid English relative clauses because they are so different from those in Japanese (Schachter, 1974).

At the phonological level, a trained ESL teacher, for example, would know that the differences in syllable structure between English and Japanese create pronunciation problems for Japanese ESL learners and would know how to explain these differences to the learner. A trained ESL teacher would also recognize that lip posturing in Japanese is different than it is in English and would know that by telling Japanese ESL learners to round their lips when pronouncing consonants, such as /r/ in the initial position, the sounds will be more easily and intelligibly produced (Crawford, 1987). Most ESL textbooks do not contain such detailed, but helpful, information.

Cultural and psycholinguistic training should also be helpful to ESL teachers in Japan. An ESL teacher with such training, for example, would understand the Japanese ESL learner's inhibitions about speaking and might address the problem through activities such as active listening and relaxation (Lucas, 1984). A teacher without such training would probably not be as quick in identifying the learner's

needs and finding appropriate techniques to address them.

The trained teacher's background in language teaching pedagogy would also offer great advantages to the Japanese ESL learner. A trained ESL teacher would probably recognize, for example, that methods such as cooperative learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1986) and Counseling-Learning (Curran, 1976) might work better in Japan than methods that involve competition among students in a class.

Disadvantages of Untrained Teachers for ESL Learners in Japan

Not only is it important to consider the advantages that ESL trained teachers have to offer, it is also important to consider the potential for harm that untrained teachers can do. For example, giving inaccurate linguistic information, failing to recognize the learner's needs, failing to appreciate the learner's culture, and using inappropriate teaching methods can impede the learners' progress in acquiring the language.

Conclusion: Support for Certification in the TESOL Profession

In the previous pages, I listed only a few examples of the kinds of advantages trained ESL teachers have over untrained teachers. And although it could be argued that highly motivated, resourceful untrained teachers might offer similar advantages, it is unlikely that the majority of untrained teachers would be capable of developing such a high degree of knowledge and skill without formal training.

For these reasons, I strongly support some sort of certification for ESL internationally. The Japanese ESL learner, ESL learners in other parts of the world, and the TESL profession in general would all be much better served by certification. The spirit in which I support certification is not to maintain an exclusive club of which only a select few can be members, but rather to serve ESL learners in the best way possible—to ensure that they receive the very best ESL instruction available.

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Against an International TESOL License

Thomas Graham

The argument in favor of imposing an international license on teachers of English to speakers of other languages may sound good in the abstract, but if it is ever applied in the real world, it will prove to be dangerously flawed.

At the heart of the argument in favor of an international license are such concepts as "raising standards," "ensuring competence," "preventing incompetence," "professionalism," and achieving "uniform standards" or "universal excellence" within the profession. Proponents of this argument claim that these ideal states—or something very near them—will be achieved by requiring prospective teachers to obtain an M.A. in TESOL, linguistics, or education before they can be licensed to teach.

Much or all of this argument is essentially idealistic. In reality, these ideals will never be achieved by imposing an international license on the profession. Indeed, an international TESOL license will actually work against these ideals in many ways.

Idealistic arguments often tend to appear brightly in the mind when their goals are contemplated, but become murky when the means toward those goals are considered. This is certainly the case with the argument in favor of an international TESOL license.

Let us look at that argument piece by piece.

Will A License Raise Standards?

The silliest ideal of the argument is the quest for "uniform standards" or "universal excellence" within the profession. There is no uniform standard for English teaching, and universal excellence is patently unattainable.

Yes, the idealist will reply, but in seeking these goals, we will "raise the standards" of our profession. Naturally, wanting to raise the standards of the profession is not unduly idealistic, but to try to do this by imposing an international license on teachers is.

Idealists who want to attain higher standards through bureaucratic fiat will, in reality, be more likely to lower them by creating a system which will exclude many talented people, offer a meaningless document, hinder managers of language schools, narrow students' choices of teachers, raise the cost of an English education, and in the end, do nothing to ensure "quality" or "professionalism" within the profession.

Language teaching is an art requiring many skills, few of them expressly academic. It cannot be quantified and regimented. A year in graduate school observing other teachers, practicing teaching, and studying methodology may do some people some good, but if that year is a prerequisite for an international license, it will actually become, in real life, a serious impediment to many excellent teachers who do not have the time or the money.

Many serious critics have blamed the decline in U.S. educational standards on similar education requirements imposed on teachers there. At their inception, these requirements (usually a year of education courses) were intended to "raise standards," but in reality they turned off thousands of talented people while providing an easy, if stolid, route to a lifelong sinecure for the unimaginative. I don't want to sound too harsh here, but to make the argument clearer it is necessary to paint with a darker brush.

Teaching is not like dentistry or pharmacy where specific factual knowledge is essential for the safe practice of the profession. The teaching of languages is also different from the teaching of other subjects like mathematics or physics. The foundation of language is extremely emotional when compared to most other subjects, and the qualities required of a good language teacher therefore are more emotional or psychological than those required for most other subjects. Needless to say, few

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or none of these qualities can effectively be taught, let alone licensed.

Who Will Benefit from a License?

In any discussion about "raising the standards" of the profession, it is important to ask, who are to be the beneficiaries of these "raised standards?" If your answer is the teachers, I do not respect your motives—are you trying to create a guild? If your answer is the students, let us consider how an international TESOL license will effect them.

First, the cost of an English education will rise precipitously. The consequence of this for students is obvious.

A second result will be that language learning, language teachers, and their attitudes toward teaching will tend to become elitist. This will result from the increased cost of an English education, from the ineluctably elevated attitudes of those who have been professionally trained and licensed, and from the exclusion of unlicensed teachers who, language being what it is and people being what they are, currently find students who like them and benefit from their work.

This exclusion of unlicensed teachers is a particularly glaring flaw in our idealist's plans since so many teachers only enter the profession after trying it out for a while. If a year in graduate school is a prerequisite for teaching, many of these talented people would never try the profession at all. The result of this for students would be a loss of teaching services.

Clearly, none of these results will benefit students, nor will any of them "raise the standards" of the profession.

Raising Standards in the Real World

The standards of the profession can only be raised at the managerial level, by those in charge of hiring teachers. And, strange as it may seem to the idealist, standards *are* being raised *right now* by precisely these people.

Hirers of teachers must above all consider their schools' students when they hire teachers. It may bother the idealist that these considerations appear "messy" since they must include all sorts of "extraneous" factors like taste, budget, personality, appearance, and students' needs, desires, and abilities. But that is how the real world works. Hirers of language teachers try most of all to give their students the kinds of teachers they want. If hirers of teachers find that teachers with academic TESOL training are better able to do this than those without TESOL training, then of course they will try to hire as many TESOL-trained teachers as they can find. If they find that other considerations are more important, then they will hire teachers according to those considerations.

At this point our idealist may say, yes, well that is OK for commercial language schools, but for academic programs in high schools and universities, the hirer must be a bit more idealistic. This is the idealist's "two-tiered" argument which claims that there are essentially two basic types of TESOL teaching: commercial and academic. These two types do exist, but to say this is not to prove that the academic tier would benefit from requiring its teachers to hold TESOL licenses.

Hirers in academic settings must follow essentially the same criteria as hirers in commercial settings. Right now, today, they are raising the standards of the TESOL profession in a practical way by hiring the kinds of teachers who are best suited for the jobs they offer. Isn't it obvious that if TESOL training really produced better teachers, then hirers of language teachers would try to hire only TESOL-trained teachers? Why is it necessary to create an expensive and unwieldy mechanism to force them to do this?

In my own conversations with hirers in both tiers of language education, I am told over and over that their most important concerns in hiring new teachers are not academic TESOL training, but teacher experience and, in the orient, a good knowledge of native culture.

The Burden of Proof

People who want to "improve the profession," "raise its standards," "ensure quality," and so forth would be well advised to remem-

ber how the real world works. In this age of crumbling ideologies and bureaucracies, we do not need to enshrine yet another idealistic bureaucracy which, at its core, has nothing to do but impede a system that operates quite well just as it is.

Since those who are in favor of an international license are the ones advocating a major change, the burden of proof for supporting the argument for that change is entirely theirs.

Matters of Professionalism and the Degree in TESOL

John Staczek

In his editorial in the Fall 1989 issue of *Cross Currents*, Thomas Clayton quite rightly raises a number of questions about TESOL as a profession and professionalism as a set of standardized practices and behaviors. In my opinion, the question that Clayton leaves unasked is "Where do we want our profession to be in three, five, ten years?" In what follows, I would like to offer some considered opinion on this question after nearly 15 years on the academic side of the profession.

Professional Responsibility—Responsibility to the Profession

Clayton suggests that there are at least two types of practitioners in TESOL, whether they are found in English-speaking countries or in settings where English is considered a foreign language: the academically prepared practitioner and the convenient native or near-native speaker of English. Since professionals and nonprofessionals alike recognize both types, I will not describe them in any detail. Both types share a common characteristic: They are pursued by a market that offers them opportunities—opportunities that are not necessarily founded on the same set of standards and goals.

If we accept the assumption that human beings, professionals and nonprofessionals, are often willing to engage in activities for experiences (e.g., to practice their crafts, to teach, to learn, to shape the behavior of others), we should also accept the corollary assumption that some of these same individuals may be unscrupulous practitioners who succumb to their own weaknesses or to the temptations of unscrupulous entrepreneurs for whom "professionalism" has little meaning. Whatever the motivation, be it intrinsic or extrinsic, instrumental or integrative, there will always be individuals who choose not to adhere to professional practices. It's those individuals—teachers, recruiters, and employers—who need to be educated about professional standards.

One way of educating these individuals is for true professionals to *behave* like professionals with regard to the quality of preparation and instruction and to the establishment of reasonable and agreed-upon working conditions and salaries. In other words, professionals need to redefine the market for the consumer in all its aspects. To do so, we have to establish professional standards of practice and eligibility.

Professionalism Defined

Let me point to some research by professionalism researchers in management. Raelin (1986, pp. 11-13) refers to the work of Kerr, Von Glinow, and Schriesheim (1977) that differentiates professionals from quasi-professionals (and the leap can be made to non-

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professionals) according to six characteristics: expertise, autonomy, commitment, identification, ethics, and standards.

If we accept these characterizations of professionals and professionalism as accurate, then it is up to individuals who want to be considered professionals to act in a like manner. This means not accepting a position for convenience, whatever the venue or conditions. Hiring practices, working conditions, and salary scales are *our* concerns, and as professionals, we should not accept less than what we are worth. It is when some practitioners allow the market to dictate conditions that the integrity of the entire profession suffers. Any intervention in the market has to come from those concerned with the quality and integrity of their practices in the market.

TESOL's Role

Of course, TESOL as an organization can have a hand in manipulating the market by insisting on professional standards for practice. TESOL does insist on such standards. But it needs to go a few steps further to evaluate instructional programs (academic and proprietary), training programs (formal and informal), hiring practices (minimal standards for teachers worldwide), and salary scales (public, private, and tutorial).

TESOL could provide leadership in establishing a commission to set rigorous standards for the profession and sanctions against unscrupulous practitioners and employers. In order to do this, TESOL has to establish a plan for the next five to ten years to work with local and national agencies that license teachers. This is already partially done through state education agencies and local/regional affiliates. It can be done on the international level through ministries of education, but international affiliate leaders must take the initiative.

In the United States, the fields of law and medicine have finally been able to "police" themselves with regard to quality and integrity of practice. The teaching profession in the United States is trying to accomplish similar objectives. The accomplishment of this objective for TESOL rests with the professionals and their organization and with the organization's ability to provide continuing education and training through local and regional affiliates as well as through the international organization.

The Convenient Job Versus the Profession

Let me conclude with a remark about international teaching of English and the difference between a job and a profession. As long as there are individuals, qualified teachers or nonteachers, who are willing to take any kind of international job, the *job* will not become a *profession*—it will be a *convenience* allowing individuals to do what they want without being accountable to an established set of practices and behaviors. And as long as there are such individuals, there will be organizations which will hire them and provide less-than-satisfactory services to the TESOL consumer.

If this continues to be the case, then we the professionals also need to educate the consumers. The profession is ours and its standards and practices, I insist, are our responsibility.

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Pilgrims, Progress, and Professionalism in TESOL

Keith Maurice

The editorial in the Fall 1989 issue of *Cross Currents* was an interesting and thorough presentation of a very complicated issue: Where should the TESOL profession be going? As one who began teaching TESOL without formal training and then later got training, I see and agree partially with people on both sides of the fence. On the one hand, professional training does not necessarily guarantee any greater ability to function as a teacher; on the other hand, if the teaching of TESOL is to be recognized as a full-fledged profession, some sort of elevation of the standards may be required.

Mr. Clayton covered the basic arguments on each side well, so I'd like to respond with a series of relevant questions and observations on various issues of personal concern.

Editorial Terminology

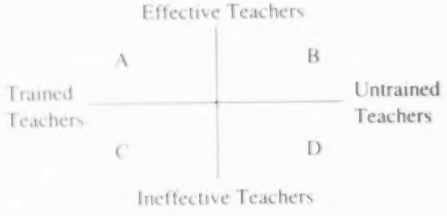
Is there trouble with the terminology used in the editorial? Yes. Despite my admiration for the editorial, I am concerned about the use of the terms "real" and "unreal" to describe teachers who have had, and have not had, professional training. Although it does describe to some extent those teachers who are serious about their work and those who do it only for the adventure or money, it does not adequately differentiate between those teachers who have had training and those who have not. Several of the best teachers I have seen have *not* had specialized training, but they *have* had excellent minds, strong interpersonal skills, and a strong desire to do good work.

In an article in the *TESOL Newsletter* (Maurice, 1987), I distinguished between *professionals* (those with formal training) and *pilgrims* (those without training who go overseas and teach). I had hoped that this would serve to show two different possible career paths without any negative connotations. However, last December I visited a respected ex-colleague in Tokyo and mentioned the distinction I had made. He saw negative connotations associated with the term "pilgrim." I suspect he'd see even more with the term "unreal," and justifiably so.

Using the term "unreal," which has such obvious connotations, serves only to cloud over the real issues and to divide teachers along lines that may be intuitively attractive to those with training, but which are immediately antagonizing to many serious, solid practitioners without that training. Implicit in my thinking here is that we operate on a continuum rather than a dichotomy in such matters.

Professionalism

What does professionalism really entail? One very simple way to look at the issue of professionalism might be to use a matrix which differentiates between training and effectiveness, like the one below.



Quadrant A refers to those who are both trained and effective. Obviously, if all other things were equal, this would be ideal. Quadrant B refers to those who are effective but not formally trained. Though the lack of training may be a handicap for these people in some circumstances, it would not *or should not* hold them back in other circumstances. Quadrant C refers to the sad state of affairs when someone has received training, but is not effective as a

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teacher. This person suffers a handicap which, depending on the reason for the lack of effectiveness, may severely limit his or her potential to be a solid professional. Quadrant D refers to people without training who are ineffective. Some may fit into Mr. Clayton's category of "unreal" teachers, but others may just be new teachers who can quickly become effective with the right support.

Though this matrix covers only two of many factors that could be used to evaluate teachers, the distinction between training and effectiveness seems valid and may serve to broaden the perspective somewhat on the issue of professionalism. If "professionalism" carries with it an assumption of effectiveness, as I think it does, then education in our field serves only as an indirect and partial indicator of any teacher's professional level. Formal education can be, but is not necessarily, a great aid to professionalization. Likewise, experience can be, but is not necessarily, a useful aid.

At this year's TESOL Convention in San Francisco, I spotted a notepad being sold by TESOL which read "TESOL Professionals—Trained *For* The Job, Not *On* The Job." While it seems self-evident that pretraining is preferable to in-service training, the idea being pushed by TESOL is that training is the key. However, all teachers need continuing development throughout their careers to be fully effective.

Widdowson and Candlin (1990) use the terms awareness, knowledge, understanding, concern, and action to describe important aspects of teacher education. These ideas also relate to the whole notion of professionalism, though there seems to be no certain linear progression from one to another: Knowledge does not always lead to concern or action, and action may not necessarily flow from consciously derived knowledge. Are there untrained teachers who are aware, are concerned, and are doing good things? Yes. Are there trained teachers who know but do not truly understand, who understand but are not concerned, who are concerned but for one reason or another do not take action? Yes.

Here, as in so many situations, we are like the blind people describing an elephant. My early teaching career was in Japan teaching conversational and business English. No one in the company had training, and yet a few people were dynamic, committed teachers. While there, and while completely ignorant of what the professional field of TESOL was doing, I developed several techniques. Later, when I decided to enter the "profession" formally, I found that those with training had never thought of one or two of the ideas. It is interesting now to see "real" teachers putting the professional stamp of approval on the techniques. But my fellow "unreal" teachers and I were using them long before they became available to these "real" teachers.

Professionalism, then, entails a lot more than simply formal education.

Academic Teacher Education

Can academic teacher education really enhance one's teaching skills? The answer to this has to do with the very real paradox we face in our field; as Kaplan (1990) notes, "there is a persistent reluctance to apply what is known to the teaching situation." Larsen (1990), citing the results of a recent survey of language program directors, essentially agrees with Kaplan's view. If this is the case—and my own observation in various work environments and at a number of conferences suggests that it is—then formal training as a prerequisite to teaching seems a crude instrument by which to measure or to improve our field.

Furthermore, can academic training really address key concerns about other important skills and characteristics? Most academic programs include course work on methodology, curriculum and materials development, testing, etc. We can assume that the people who go through such programs get some sort of grounding in the theories, views, and practices in the field. We can also assume that most people leave a program with more knowledge than they had when they went into it. How many programs, though, gloss over many important, though nonacademic, aspects of teacher training in their pursuit of more theoretical con-

cerns? How many programs enhance such things as commitment to excellence, sharing, understanding student needs, openness, and desire for lifelong development?

Centra and Potter (1980, p. 274) note eight teacher characteristics that may relate to student outcome: qualifications, experience, aptitudes, knowledge of subject, knowledge of teaching, values and attitudes, expectations, and social class. Only qualifications, knowledge of subject, and knowledge of teaching are directly related to training; and it is possible to gain understanding in these without training.

The characteristics needed by teachers can sometimes be seen outside of academia and are sometimes not seen within academia. The long-term teachers at the language teaching company where I worked in Japan are now very knowledgeable about Japan and business matters, proficient in dealing with business people, and are pursuing, in their own way, excellence for their clients. In such situations, I would not hesitate to hire a sharp, business-oriented person who comes across as a professional to businesspeople over a dishevelled formally trained linguist who comes across as an eccentric. This may seem an extreme example, but it is rooted in reality.

Nevertheless, I do see value in getting trained. After four years of being an "unreal" teacher and being considered an expert by other "unreal" teachers, I felt a deep inner drive to find out whether what I was doing made sense to the real experts or whether I needed a reorientation of some kind. Once in academia, I did learn some things that have been useful in the teaching and work I have done since. More importantly, my horizons were widened so that I am able to continue learning from the field as I go on. In taking to heart my major professor's advice to present and publish, I have found that I keep thinking, keep trying to understand more, and keep improving myself. I have felt this drive toward improvement much more after training than I ever did before training.

The M.A. and the MBA

What kind of training analogy fits our field? Because I have seen many examples of confusion within the field, faddishness in certain trends, profound disagreements over basic matters, incompetence, and teacher burnout, I would not want to characterize prior academic training as essential to being allowed to teach. In that respect, it may be that M.A. training in TESOL is like MBA training for businesspeople—certainly not a prerequisite for success in various areas, but an enhancement of knowledge and skills for those in situations where such enhancement is seen as worthwhile. Though it is fashionable among many businesspeople in the U.S. to get an MBA, that degree is usually seen as a stepping-stone for success in large corporations, not as a requirement for entry into the business world.

Following that analogy a bit further, large Japanese business corporations seem much less enthralled with the MBA than do large American companies. The fact that they do not have large numbers of people with MBAs does not seem to hurt them in their competition with American companies. The point here is that schooling can help to increase our understanding and skills, but there are still too many variables outside the scope of any program to try to make broad policy or policing decisions based solely on academic training.

Choices in Academia

Where in academia should English language teaching training be? A look at TESOL-related programs in the U.S. shows that they vary greatly, from those which focus heavily on linguistics to those which are heavily education oriented.

When I was thinking of an M.A. degree, I seriously considered three schools. The first would have required that I take more undergraduate English courses in addition to the graduate courses in TESOL. Since my experience and interest was in the teaching of English to businesspeople, I could find neither interest nor relevance in these courses. The second program I checked was lock-step in its linguistic focus and did not seem to fit my needs or interests as a teacher. Finally, I chose a pro-

gram that had plenty of leeway; I studied communication as a minor, which to me seemed more relevant than the other institutions' required English and linguistics courses.

The point in my personal example here is that there is a lot of diversity out there in the types of programs offered, to say nothing of the quality of instruction offered or the skills and characteristics of the graduate students. Our field is so diverse that academic training in one area may not be enough to ensure that one can do professional work in another.

Licensing of TESOL Teachers

Does the discussion about licensing of TESOL teachers even matter in the real world? This discussion is fascinating on the one hand and yet seems futile on the other. It is fascinating because, like the business world, our field ranges from charlatans out to make a quick buck to extremely sophisticated professionals who are out to help their clients, the field, and the world beyond it. It seems futile to me because I doubt whether the licensing movement can succeed.

I also fear what might happen if it did succeed. Who would define the license? TESOL? Linguistics associations? Literature associations? University committees? School boards? Government agencies? I have no confidence that any great wisdom or results would come out of these bodies, with the possible exception of TESOL—and even TESOL has some blind spots. I would fear that the outdated requirements of some schools would be mandated for all and that we would lose the value of flexible and diversified programs. I would fear that in the attempt to professionalize the field we might unintentionally pulverize it.

Nevertheless, I would like to see more and more networking of professional associations, universities, and language teaching companies across the world. Along with that could go tighter hiring policies among universities across the world, where academic training does make sense as a prerequisite for teaching for various reasons. The other ideas mentioned by Mr. Clayton, such as advertising and accreditation, all seem reasonable steps in the long-term goal to push TESOL toward excellence.

Final Remarks

Ultimately, the field of TESOL seems as diverse as the world beyond it. To remain too comfortable with the status quo would be dangerous. Also dangerous, however, would be to force everyone in the field into the narrow tunnel of formal academic training as a prerequisite to any kind of teaching. What remains, it seems to me, is to keep pushing forward toward progress with our eyes open to false assumptions in our way. In the legitimate quest for greater professionalism and recognition for our efforts to improve our knowledge and effectiveness, we need to remember that many pilgrims have helped pave the way for professionals and that on occasion some professionals have taken the field into unproductive areas.

To paraphrase an old Al Jarreau song, "We're in this (field) together." Let's keep pushing ahead, but be careful about pushing some of our colleagues away from us.

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International Standards for ESL Teachers: An Agenda and Recommendations

René Cisneros and Elizabeth Leone

More than ever before, countries with a great demand for ESL teachers also have an urgent need that these teachers be well trained. However, setting professional standards for ESL teachers is no small chore, especially when one considers the vast numbers of English as a second language students and teachers around the world. The Soviet Union alone has more than 45 million ESL students; Japan has more than 66,000 nonnative-speaking ESL teachers in their high schools (Marquardt, 1977). These are probably conservative estimates that need to be updated for the 1990s.

Establishing international professional standards for training ESL faculty is an issue that requires an agenda for policy-making and recommendations for action. This essay outlines (1) an agenda for developing international standards for ESL teachers, (2) a set of cultural factors for consideration in international policy-making, and (3) a set of recommended actions for teachers, educational institutions, governmental bodies, and businesses to carry out in collaboration.

An Agenda

Policy-making in language, or language planning, takes place at many different organizational and institutional levels. For example, a particular school may establish policy for faculty hiring and promotion; a training program for ESL teachers may establish policy to "guarantee" the competence and quality of its graduates; and state and federal agencies may establish policy to determine which training programs are eligible for funding. Language policy-making is an integral part of many educational programs, and in discussing professional standards for international ESL teachers, a language planning agenda, incorporating both description and normative issues, needs to be established (Leone & Cisneros, 1983).

Rubin (1985), who has studied language planning and policy-making worldwide, has formulated four questions which can be used for a policy-making agenda. We have adapted these questions to guide ESL professionals in thinking about the issue of international standards for training ESL teachers. Answers to the four questions will provide a solid basis for initiating policy-making efforts for international ESL teacher standards. However, care should be taken to ensure that information provided by persons in a country takes into account the role of English in that country and the process of policy-making there as well.

1. *What professional standards for ESL teachers exist; what inadequacies have been identified?*

Implicit in any proposal for ESL language planning is the premise that English language learning and teaching is somehow not adequately meeting the needs of persons using the language. If so, at the international level we can turn to organizations such as TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language) and to publications like the *TESOL Quarterly* and the *TESOL Newsletter* for guidance in thinking about inadequacies and standards for evaluating ESL teachers and TESL teacher training programs. TESOL has also published self-study guidelines of ESL teaching and professional preparation programs.

In specific countries, TESOL affiliates, public and private ESL programs, and ESL teachers can serve as resources for identifying and discussing the inadequacies in ESL teaching and for setting ESL professional standards.

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In the U.S. and Japan, which have many private and public ESL programs, there is much information for discussion of ESL inadequacies and standards. Clayton and others have discussed inadequacies and the need for consensus in the training and education of ESL teachers in Japan and elsewhere (Clayton, 1989; Larsen-Freeman, 1983; Richards, 1987; Richards & Crookes, 1988). These discussions—on methods, practica, and other issues— provide the initial impetus for beginning to address the need for ESL teacher standards.

2. *Who are the planners who have the authority, power, and influence to make and influence decisions related to professional standards for ESL teachers?*

TESOL and its affiliates, and those institutions using English make up two groups of planners. But, in each country, planners at the national and regional levels need to be identified; these planners should include TESOL members, educational agencies, legislative bodies, and private and public ESL program staff. Given the complexity of policy-making, first efforts need to be established in particular countries with urgent needs, such as Japan.

3. *What plans or goals have been set to deal with the inadequacies of ESL professional standards?*

Educational institutions and governmental bodies which have self-assessed their policies and established plans to attend to the inadequacies in their policies need to be consulted. Also, there is a need to analyze and compare practices in specific countries for various types of programs. For example, what criteria are used by large corporations in the U.S. and Japan for hiring ESL instructors? How do these businesses hire English proficient workers, managers, and executives?

4. *What attempts have been made at planning—that is, in what situations have there been or is there a real effort being made toward implementation of or feedback to a policy or plan?*

In many businesses where English is used, there are international memos, policies, hiring practices, and testing procedures used to ensure adequate language proficiency. Professional ESL journals need to publish ongoing updates which monitor this institution-internal development of standards in various countries. Such updates could serve as forums for the discussion of which type of ESL standards are working and which are not.

Cultural Factors

Key planners in a host country, such as Japan, need to provide information about the sociocultural context of English language education, the educational agencies, and the process of policy-making in their country. Information is needed on the value that the educators of a particular country assign to the English language, to the learning and teaching of English, and to the role of native and nonnative English-speaking teachers. How is the English language and the English language teaching profession perceived and conceptualized by the educators, government officials, and students in a given country? Is the English language perceived as a language that must be known well enough to pass a written entrance exam for college, or as a language that must be known to conduct professional negotiations orally and in writing, or merely as a language that one must show on his/her educational transcript or resume? That is, what are the many purposes for learning English in Japan and elsewhere, and how do these reflect the values placed on ESL and ESL professionals?

ESL professionals need to muster all their practical competence in cross-cultural communications and ethnographic and diplomatic skills to function within an appropriate framework acceptable to both the host country and to ESL professionals. Add to this the fact that ESL professionals may only be guests in the country in which they are teaching or consulting, and the scenario becomes quite complex.

Recommendations

Listed below are some recommendations

for increasing and supporting standards in the TESOL profession.

1. *Collect and share information.* ESL professionals need to participate in working groups such as TESOL and TESOL affiliates which can collect and share information about inadequacies of ESL and TESL training in order to address policy needs.

2. *Assume leadership roles.* ESL professionals need to assume leadership roles in their communities, places of employment, and teacher preparation programs. Professionals need to advocate for better ESL teaching and teacher education. A country with urgent needs for well-prepared teachers cannot afford to lose these ESL professionals to burn-out or disillusionment due to a lack of appreciation and respect for the profession.

3. *Self-assess program standards.* TESOL affiliates need to encourage state educational agencies to self-assess their standards for ESL teachers and to promote the development of professional standards appropriate to the country's needs. A country like Japan with a strong economy and urgent demand for English language services would develop an ESL licensure program very differently from a country with a different economy and different ESL business and educational needs.

4. *Identify persons with policy-making influence and power.* ESL professionals need to initiate contacts with persons who have the influence and power in their countries to make changes in inadequate policies.

5. *Make teacher preparation programs "user friendly."* ESL professionals need to make their teacher preparation programs more "user friendly" for clients. TESL credential courses could be offered in a variety of formats in or near the workplace on morning, evening, weekend, or summer intensive schedules.

6. *Offer incentives.* In collaboration with business and industry, educational agencies need to offer incentives to reward ESL teachers who seek a professional credential. Incentives could include tuition stipends and merit salary increases for ESL teachers with professional credentials.

7. *Disseminate information and educate the public.* ESL professional organizations in collaboration with business and industry need to disseminate information and educate the public about ESL, its issues, and its professional needs.

8. *Offer credit for prior experiential learning.* Professional development programs for ESL teachers need to assess and give credit for the ESL teacher's prior learning and competence gained from practical teaching experience. The credential program would include an experiential learning assessment phase in which the teacher's prior learning and work experience could be evaluated and awarded credit.

9. *Develop theory seminars.* Adapt the theory-seminar concept from colleges which offer credit for prior experiential learning (Harvey & Webb, 1985). As part of a credential program defined in terms of competencies and prior experiential learning, theory seminars are designed to supplement a student's practical experience. They speed up the process of preparing professionals since time is not spent on teaching practical knowledge that a person has already acquired.

10. *Establish teacher preparation programs in countries with urgent needs.* Countries like the U.S. with strong ESL credentialling programs need to collaborate with countries which have high demands for well-prepared ESL teachers. American universities in conjunction with Japanese universities, for example, can establish ESL credentialling programs in Japan. Persons would simultaneously prepare for their ESL credential and teach ESL as part of their field experience. Programs could even be developed where the person would study

half a day and teach half a day in a supervised setting. In this way, the prospective teacher combines theory with practice, and understaffed ESL programs are provided with a much-needed teaching staff. This type of model with half a day of theory and half a day of practice is common to medical schools and other professional schools in a number of countries around the world.

11. *Mentor prospective ESL professionals.* ESL professionals need to become responsible for mentoring or guiding other ESL teachers. A mentoring component can be included in the credential programs so that both ESL teachers and teacher trainers mentor other ESL teachers and advocate for a stronger ESL profession.

12. *Form an "ESL corps."* Countries which have strong economies, such as Japan, could take the lead in providing the training of ESL teachers in other countries which do not have strong economic resources. This could be done by providing a type of "ESL peace corps" teacher training program, whereby ESL professionals with established professional positions in first world countries would volunteer to train ESL teachers in developing countries.

13. *Promote an international ESL preparation program contest.* International organizations, such as UNESCO and OAS, in collaboration with business and industry, could sponsor international contests for the best ESL teacher training program. Business and industry could work with government and educational institutions to sponsor ESL training programs for international competition. Distinguished programs could serve as models and inspire other countries.

14. *Develop reciprocal language teacher preparation programs.* Countries such as the U.S. and Japan, with quasi-reciprocal needs for Japanese and ESL language teachers, could develop reciprocal language teaching programs whereby American teachers are taught Japanese language, culture, and skills for teaching Japanese as a second language and Japanese teachers are taught ESL, American culture, and skills for teaching ESL.

15. *Combine ESL and bilingual/biliteracy teacher preparation programs.* Some multilingual countries might have needs for training teachers to teach literacy in several national languages, including English. Credentialling programs in such countries might include core competencies in second language acquisition and teaching, bilingualism/biliteracy, linguistics, language variation, and culture for each language addressed. Still other countries might need to combine second language credentialling programs with the training of teachers in first language literacy.

Conclusions

Standards for the international ESL professional need to address several variables: 1) the variety of attitudes, perceptions, and conceptualizations of the role of learning and using English in a particular society; 2) the role of the native-born and foreign-born ESL teacher in a particular country; 3) the state of the economy; and 4) the supply of and demand for English teachers.

For example, standards for ESL professionals in Japan need to be analyzed within the context of both public and private policies. Petersen (1989) mentions that in Japanese public schools, the focus of English teaching is on preparing the student for written English exams. This public policy has had a direct effect on the type of English teachers produced: a corps of Japanese teachers who teach English primarily for reading and writing proficiencies. Japan also has a private policy in the business sector that strongly encourages Japanese businessmen to communicate in spoken English. Native speakers of English from Western countries have responded to this need by specializing in developing students' oral proficiency.

The two different types of policy in Japan have produced at least two types of English teachers with different needs, rights, and re-

sponsibilities. To some, it may appear that these two types of teachers are meeting the English language needs in Japan, and so, at present, changing the status quo may not be urgent. Unless problems are perceived by these students, their employers, or schools, or unless greater prestige is gradually attached to spoken English by Japanese youth, change may not come about very soon in English teaching in Japan.

Employment conditions also relate to the professional role that is allowed, culturally and politically, for native-born and foreign-born ESL teachers in a particular country. For example, what does the Japanese or American culture consider an appropriate role for an ESL teacher within the historical, socioeconomic, racial, and gender conditions of employment? Is the ESL professional perceived merely as a tutor, a native "informant" (to borrow a term from anthropology) who can facilitate conversation in English, a classroom teacher without the right to make or give input in curriculum or policy decisions? In the United States, for instance, where certain occupations and subjects are still identified with women and where ESL college credit remains controversial, a less-than-professional role for teachers is not uncommon.

A final issue relates to the citizenship status of Western ESL teachers. What are the avenues for them to participate in the political process? How can they give input to and make demands on governmental bodies which make educational policy? An obvious solution to this issue is for Westerners to work with Japanese ESL professionals to bring about policy changes and public debate about standards.

Policy-making tasks and the establishment of professional standards for ESL teachers cannot be taken on by any one group. Strong collaborative efforts must take place to bring about changes. Avenues for dialogue and action need to be through professional ties with English-speaking countries to discuss the shared issues, problems, and solutions.

Once ESL professionals become informed of other programs' standards and other countries' attempts to implement or change policy, they will have the groundwork for fueling their own efforts, hopefully avoiding duplication of effort or error. However, language planning in any country always must be undertaken within the context of the social, economic, and cultural conditions and practices of the country in order to obtain the most effective results.

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What Did Isadora Duncan and Einstein Have in Common?

Robert O'Neill

It should not be difficult for anyone with even a superficial knowledge of EFL teaching and teachers to understand the desire by those who practice it seriously to get some recognition. It is perhaps equally natural that people who spend years of study in acquiring a professional qualification should think that those who have not done so ought to be prevented from working in the same profession.

There are several things, however, that make me uneasy about this desire for some kind of professional license to teach. To begin with, I am not sure that such a license or barrier to the unskilled would in the long run make our craft or business or discipline more truly professional (the confusion in my own mind as to which of these three things EFL teaching really is should be noted). I also fear that such a license would contribute more to the bureaucratization of EFL teaching than to its professional growth. Last of all, I have strong personal reasons for suspecting that such a move would keep out a large number of people who can contribute far more to that professional growth than a licensing scheme would.

The Story of a High School Dropout

Perhaps at this point I should begin, as it were, at the end—or with the last reason. What are my *personal* reasons for doubt in the matter of professional qualifications? They are, quite simply, that I myself am not—at least in any formal sense—either a trained teacher or even well-educated. I dropped out of a tough high school on the South Side of Chicago when I was seventeen, tried to become an actor in Hollywood, worked in a variety of unskilled jobs, and then, after spending about nine months wandering around Europe, found by chance a poorly paid job as a teacher in a Berlitz school in a West German city that was still visibly recovering from the war. My initial training consisted of about an hour's introduction to the mysteries of the basic Berlitz teaching-kit—a small briefcase-like box which contained some pencils of different colors, a toy clock, and a few other objects to illustrate the notions of "big" and "small."

This is not the place to elaborate on the use of these primitive tools other than to say that they were surprisingly effective. They were also my personal introduction to the craft of language teaching. I do not for a moment doubt the usefulness of the various courses that now exist for untrained and unskilled teachers such as I was, but if I had the chance to repeat my life or the preparation for my career in EFL, I would still prefer to begin in the way I did. Equipped with such experience I could participate more intelligently and critically in a course leading to professional qualifications.

Two Types of Competence

Courses designed to supply people with professional qualifications often tend—particularly in the United States—to develop what is referred to in other fields as "normative competence" rather than "performative competence" (Lomas, 1987).[1] The first consists largely of the ability to conceptualize and to talk about what one should do. The second consists of the actual ability to do it. Very often teachers with no formal qualifications have a great deal of the second but too little of the first. And often teachers with formal qualifications have a certain amount of the first but pitifully little of the second. We have all met "profes-

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[1] Lomas, a trained psychoanalyst, argues that the present professional training of psychoanalysts can actually prevent them from helping their patients or even understanding their real needs.

sionals" who can talk convincingly and impressively about their work but who are insensitive and uninspired in the actual practice of it.

I do not want to devalue or downgrade normative competence. Without it, we would be unable to talk to each other about what we do or to argue about what it is we should be doing. I am simply reluctant to overvalue it or to disregard the insights and experience of many good teachers who have few formal qualifications and who are often unskillful at talking about what they do. And I am even more reluctant to fall into the trap of what the anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1976) calls "extension transference," which he defines as a "common intellectual maneuver in which the extension is confused with or takes the place of the process" (p. 28).[2] The *process* in this case is the ability to teach English as a foreign language. The *extension* is the diploma, the formal qualification or license.

Perhaps you will object that a driver's license can also be seen as an "extension" in this sense, but that no one is his right mind would argue that we ought not to demand it as evidence of the ability to drive before we let people loose in those lethal weapons we commonly refer to as "family cars." This objection brings me to the heart of my argument and back to the first two of the three reasons I mentioned at the beginning. We need bureaucratic intervention and bureaucratic proof of the ability to drive because unqualified drivers are even more likely to kill than qualified ones are. Fortunately, however, the activity of teaching English badly and unskillfully is not quite as dangerous. And there is a great deal of evidence that large numbers of people are willing to pay for good, high-quality, truly professional teaching. Certainly, the large number of well-qualified EFL teachers in a country like Japan does not suggest a serious shortage of properly paid professional posts.

[2] Hall attacks the propensity of Western cultures in particular and bureaucracies in general to destroy that which they cannot understand or regulate.

License or Barrier in EFL?

Let us briefly compare the various sectors of the marketplace for EFL. In most countries there is a very important state sector which refuses to employ teachers unless they possess professional qualifications. I, for example, would not be allowed to teach EFL or to lecture upon it at any American state-run university. A glance at my application form would immediately dismiss me, despite the books and articles I have written, the countries and places I have lectured at and taught in, and the panels of experts I have sat with at various conventions. I am not complaining about this state-sector policy; I simply point it out as evidence of the importance of professional qualifications.

There are, in addition, a great number of private schools and institutions that are increasingly rigorous about professional standards. Some of these private institutions may be somewhat more flexible about qualifications (or at least about the definition of what a proper qualification is) than state-run ones, but even these favor qualified applicants and are willing to pay them well. There is also a state-supported scheme in countries like Great Britain which refuses to recognize schools unless they employ properly qualified staff. Recognition, of course, is not the same as licensing, but it is an extremely important factor. The private schools that do well financially and survive in the long term in Britain are precisely those that are recognized.

Finally, there is the unprofessional sector. Nobody seems to know how large this is. In Britain, for example, this sector tends to consist of hole-in-the-wall schools that mushroom in the summer. Their life-cycle tends to be similar to the insects that feed from the flowers at the same time of the year. They, like the flowers and insects, disappear quickly when colder weather comes. In Japan, unprofessional sector schools may be walk-in salons or "English shops" that market English in the same manner that sex, alcohol, or fast food is sold by other types of shops. You buy it by the hour or by the portion. The teacher you see today will probably not be the teacher you see

on your next visit. The composition of the class (if there is such a thing as a class) changes constantly. If the English on offer is quickly ingested, it is just as quickly evacuated.

What Has the Professional Sector to Fear?

What is it that the professional sector has to fear from the unprofessional one? Unfair competition perhaps? If so, what exactly is unfair about it? A lot of students who start out in the unprofessional sector later come into the professional one. The big firms in Japan like Hitachi, Sony, and JAL and similar big firms all over the world go to the professional sector rather than to the unprofessional one. The walk-in salons are usually frequented by students who either can't or won't pay the price that the professional label demands. Why should they not have this choice?

Or are we, perhaps, seriously worried that the professional sector may in the future shrink or be overwhelmed by the unprofessional one? This has not happened in the last 20 or 30 years of mainly unregulated growth of EFL both as a business and as a profession, so why should it happen in the future? And if it did, what would it tell us about the professional sector? Only that it had for some reason (perhaps an excessive and bureaucratic insistence on its own professionalism) grown out of touch with its clients, just as it can be argued that modern bureaucratically regulated medicine has lost touch with many of its clients' needs.

No; there are only two things the professional sector really has to fear. One is that a self-inflicted and narrow vision of its own professionalism will make it unable to respond to the changing pattern of demand for English in different parts of the world. The other is that a growing administrative bureaucracy will, in its zeal to enforce its own narrow vision of "proper qualifications," destroy the diversity and the calling of alternative and competing methodologies that make EFL teaching an interesting and exciting field.

Bureaucracy and Professionalism

The link between bureaucracy and one particular monolithic view of professionalism is inescapable. If you want professional standards everywhere you must have the administrative machinery to enforce them. You must have inspectors and standards and ways of assessing them. Above all, you must invent and refine ways of catching and punishing those who transgress against your standards. That means a bureaucracy, frequently one divorced from the actual practice of the standards it is there to enforce.

If teachers and teacher trainers want to gain a more professional image, they should concentrate on continuing to persuade their clients and customers that what they have to offer is worthwhile. At the same time, they should offer training schemes to some of those unprofessional teachers who decide they like what they are doing and want to learn more about it. This is already happening in the U.K.

However, the professional sector (and here I admit again to a personal bias) ought to be cautious before it dismisses the insights or the person of the unprofessional teacher. One of the reasons that EFL is such a vital and interesting enterprise is that it has attracted a large number of people into it with a wealth of experience and training gained from other occupations. Many of these people would, like myself, never have entered the field if there had been no chance to teach English without a professional qualification.

A universally enforced license to teach and a barrier to anyone who does not have one would kill the very thing it was meant to protect. It would destroy a great deal of the ferment and stimulating confusion about standards and methods that distinguish our occupation from the more sober type of teaching practiced in more respectable—but on the whole far less interesting—places where bureaucratic notions of professionalism hold sway.

A List of Unprofessional Outsiders

I would like to end with a very short and very incomplete list: Socrates, Shakespeare, Erik Satie, Isadora Duncan, Einstein, Benjamin Whorf. What have they all in common?

Socrates was deeply suspicious of the sophists, the professional teachers of rhetoric and logic of his day, and did not appear to have much formal training himself. Shakespeare was relatively uneducated, with "little Latin and less Greek," and ignored academic rules of drama construction. Einstein had been so unsatisfactory as a student that his teachers refused to recommend him for a job. Satie was a dropout from the Conservatoire. Whorf was an insurance inspector whose formal training was in chemistry, not linguistics. Isadora Duncan took only a few lessons in ballet and then rebelled against the orthodox conventions of professional ballet and invented an alternative and rich form of expressive dance. Not one of them would have satisfied the criteria of an academically rigorous definition of professionalism.

It is people like these that I fear would be lost to any profession that defines its professionalism too narrowly or too jealously.

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The Importance of Grammar in ESL Teacher Education

Patrick Duffley

The editorial in the Fall issue of *Cross Currents* raised a number of interesting questions. I should like to pick up one of them, the training of ESL teachers, insofar as the teaching of grammar is concerned.

How to Teach, or What to Teach?

I wholeheartedly endorse the editorial's condemnation of the position "If you can speak English, you can teach English." However, I am not sure if we agree on what is required to train an anglophone as an ESL teacher. Although I believe it is useful to acquire techniques and approaches for presenting the forms and structures of the language, the essential is, in my opinion, not *how* to teach but *what* to teach. Many programs for training teachers do not provide an intimate knowledge of English grammar, even though such knowledge is necessary in order to explain usage to learners.

Let me illustrate what I have in mind by reference to the problem of *some* and *any*. The standard treatment of these two quantifiers in English teaching grammars is to distinguish between them in terms of the context in which they are used: *some* is said to be employed in positive sentences ("I want some cake"), while *any* is what learners are taught to use in negative and interrogative sentences ("I don't want any more cake" and "Do you want any more cake?"). This illustrates an approach to grammar which is based on rules drawn from an observation of the contexts in which grammatical forms occur.

Now what many teacher training programs do is simply take for granted this view of the grammar of English and devote most of their energies to providing future teachers with psychopedagogical concepts and communicative, audiovisual, or other techniques which will supposedly allow them to teach properly. Sometimes the grammar rules are reviewed or studied, but rarely if ever is the content of the grammar itself called into question.

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In my opinion, however, it is precisely that, that is, the content of the grammar taught, which should be subjected to a serious examination. Coming back to *some* and *any*, I submit that a rule such as the Positive Versus Negative or Interrogative one, while it may be useful for giving beginners a first approximation of how these two determiners are used, will only engender confusion and boredom if it is maintained beyond the beginners' level as an explanation of grammatical usage in English.

Grammar Knowledge in ESL Teaching

To illustrate my point, how is the teacher equipped with the above rule going to explain a very common sentence like "Did you lose something?", where *some* is used in an interrogative context? The approach to grammar which this teacher has been exposed to leads very easily to the temptation to treat such uses as "exceptions" to the grammatical rule.

This method of teaching grammar has many unfortunate consequences. Firstly, it kills the student's curiosity. A second equally serious drawback is that it deprives the student of important grammatical knowledge for using *some* and *any* properly, such as the fact that both can be used in interrogative contexts, though with different meanings. Thus whereas "Did you lose anything?" indicates real ignorance on the part of the speaker as to whether anything was actually lost or not, "Did you lose something?" would be addressed to someone who was down on his hands and knees looking under the sofa; that is, it presupposes that something has actually been lost.

And an interrogative context is not the only case where a contrast in meaning can be observed. It also exists in negative sentences, where a use such as "I didn't understand anything in the text you assigned" means something very different from "I didn't understand something in the text you assigned." And the contrast exists in negative questions. "Didn't you buy any apples?" indicates that the questionee was supposed to buy apples, but forgot; whereas "Didn't you buy some apples?" implies that some apples were bought, but have been lost on the way home from the market.

Meaning contrast can also be observed in conditional contexts. In the sentences "If you find any mistakes in my translation, please correct them for me" and "If you find some mistakes in my translation, please correct them for me," the latter is indicative of a greater degree of humility than the former. Finally, meaning contrast can be observed in positive contexts. Contrast "I'm looking for something he gave me" and "I'm looking for anything he gave me." The first might be said if the person referred to had given the speaker a newspaper article a few weeks ago and the latter wasn't sure where he had put it; the second could refer to objects given the speaker by Elvis Presley, of which the least one is now worth several thousand dollars to collectors of memorabilia.

The Marvelous Panoply of Usage

Unfortunately, the door to this marvelous panoply of usage is closed to the student if teachers are not given a broader, and deeper, view of English grammar. Grammar has to be seen as more than just a collection of rules, of do's and don't's, in order for it to reflect the way native English speakers really speak and to become a positive factor for stimulating the student's curiosity and desire to learn. The way to achieve this goal is, in my opinion, to view and teach grammar as something which is inherently meaningful, that is, as something which has real communicative value.

When the student realizes that English speakers use grammatical forms because of what they mean, grammar teaching can appeal to his intelligence and imagination by trying to get him to "feel" what the grammar means, to imagine in what kind of situation one would use a given form, and even, at more advanced levels, to explain why a speaker or writer has chosen one form rather than another. A vast horizon of challenging activities and exercises thus opens up, at all levels, before the ESL teacher. This horizon must remain closed, however, as long as we maintain what I feel is an unprofessional approach to the subject matter itself in which we profess to be experts.

Japanese University Hiring Practices and the Masters in TEFL

Michael Redfield

For the Spring 1990 issue of *Cross Currents*, Editor Thomas Clayton kindly asked me to comment on the current Japanese university employment situation in regards to TEFL. As a long time TESOL TEI (Teaching English Internationally) representative in Japan, I am more than happy to share what knowledge I have with the readership on this vital and often reoccurring theme.

What I propose to do is first describe normal hiring practices for both Japanese and international instructors and then compare the Japanese system with that of university second language practices in the United States.

The Old Boys Network

Generally speaking, Japanese universities hire their faculty through a recommendation system. Positions may be publicized (though often in sources inaccessible to foreigners) and formal qualifications are required; but these are mostly for show. A recommendation from the proper person is the key. For full-time positions, this proper person is usually Japanese.

Let's look at how this recommendation system works in practice. The Japanese candidate normally majors in English and upon graduation immediately enters a Ph.D. program. Since there are practically no TEFL programs in Japanese universities, s/he specializes in either literature or linguistics; s/he obtains an M.A. and often continues on to an ABD (all but dissertation). Few candidates actually obtain the doctorate at Japanese universities, mainly, I believe, because their graduate professors do not possess doctorates either.

At this point, recommendations become all-important. Through the university's own old boys network or a broader OB network, if the graduate professor comes from a different school or is involved in one of the many learned societies that proliferate in Japan, information about jobs becomes available, telephone calls are made, and jobs are firmly secured. All this happens well before the job seeker makes a formal application or meets people at the school involved. For full-time positions there is normally an interview, but this is mainly for show, as the hiring decision has already been made.

For schools looking for new personnel, the process is reversed. Professors in the department in question—many college English teachers are not in English departments—are asked to contact their personal OB networks in search of a suitable candidate. Once convinced of the desirability of an aspirant, the professor merely informs his/her colleagues, and if there are no other applicants, the person is hired. This holds true almost 100% of the time in the case of part-time positions. The same holds for full-time slots, unless there is more than one recommended applicant. In that case, the candidate of the higher-ranked department member generally gets the job, regardless of the individual qualifications of the candidates.

After obtaining a first position, full-timers—which basically means tenure for Japanese candidates—can move up to more prestigious schools, again through contacts. Part-timers, who teach the bulk of the actual classes, also cultivate contacts at their colleges and at learned societies in order to obtain tenured positions.

It is interesting to note that degrees, publications, and teaching experience are all present, though not terribly important, in the tenure process. The M.A./ABD is certainly an academic, but is not a TEFL professional. S/he has no formal TEFL training, no supervised teaching experience, and professional interests which most often lie in other areas. Yes, publications are required for Japanese, but there is a way around this as well since only one

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publication is necessary and the masters thesis (almost never in TEFL) counts.

Foreigners in the Japanese System

The procedure for hiring foreign staff is similar on paper, but is slightly different in practice. For one thing, far fewer foreigners are hired for tenured positions than Japanese. For another, few foreigners attend Japanese graduate schools, and relatively few foreigners are well-connected in university old boys networks. This means that schools often have to look elsewhere for foreign staff. Some advertise in *The Language Teacher* or *The TESOL Newsletter*, others set up sister school relationships with foreign universities. Some hire only missionaries, others look for personnel through sister city relationships, and others hire their foreign teaching personnel through language schools. Most foreign teachers in tenured positions, nonetheless, are hired through personal contacts and recommendations.

Perhaps since foreign personnel are apparently hard to find—or are not considered *true* professors, another very real possibility—formal requirements can more often than not be waived. This appears especially to be the case with part-timers and temporary full-timers (nontenured contract teachers), but sometimes includes tenured personnel as well. For example, I personally know of foreigners without TEFL degrees or qualifications who have been hired within the past two or three years for part-time, contract, and tenured positions at Aoyama, Ferris, Kobe Jogakuin, Nanzan, Kinki, Kinran, Baika, Shukugawa, Otemae, Osaka Shoin, and Kansai Gai Dai. Most of these people do not have publications, few speak Japanese or other foreign languages, and three did not even have previous teaching experience. All of them, however, were recommended.

For a typical example of foreign hiring, perhaps we can look a bit at my own school, Osaka University of Economics. We have nine full-time and 33 part-time English instructors. Most of the part-timers teach full-time at other institutions. As of three years ago we had no foreign faculty. Now we have two foreign tenured instructors and four foreign part-timers. None of the Japanese staff have TEFL qualifications. Half of the foreign staff are career TEFL people, myself and two of the part-timers recommended by me. Since I have been there, not one position in the entire university has been advertised. All new staff entered on personal recommendations. I believe that this is a typical situation.

The U.S. Hiring System

Before we begin screaming about the lack of professionalism in Japanese college TEFL, it might be a good idea to look at the situation of second language instruction at the university level in the United States, especially since Editor Clayton recommends turning over certification to TESOL, an overwhelmingly U.S.-based organization, and to the international academic community, in which American universities play a major role.

American second language classes in college are normally taught by untried graduate students, professors of literature, linguistics and other area studies, and educated native speakers. Specialists in applied linguistics or foreign language education (the equivalent of TEFL) are vastly underrepresented, although in creditable programs they are often active at a supervisory level.

This may or may not be the ideal situation; I for one would hope that all university language teaching personnel, in Japan and abroad, would be qualified language teaching specialists. But if American colleges see no need for more qualified instructors, I seriously doubt that Americans like Clayton and myself will ever be able to convince Japanese authorities to accept only qualified TEFL professionals.

The Future of TEFL in Japan

As far as I can determine, I have faithfully described normal Japanese university hiring practices above. However, even poorer practices do exist. For example, both Kobe Gakuin and Osaka University of Physical Education have recently signed contracts with Overseas Training Center (OTC), a large but by no

means prestigious ELT jobber, to have foreign teachers supplied. I personally know two of the new teachers. Both are 22 years old, have only several months unsupervised teaching experience, and have no academic or practical knowledge of TEFL whatsoever. Apparently they are to receive two hours of training from OTC people occupying similar positions.

Until everyone involved in language education—educational administrators, language school executives, college professors, Ministry of Education personnel, and regular language teachers—abandon the idea that all native speakers are automatically qualified language teachers, I personally see no way for professional TEFL to advance in Japan.

Some Thai Perspectives on TESOL Professionalism

Acharapan Leanhanathavuth

English is emerging as the international language of business, education, and entertainment. To serve the growing demand for English in Thailand, many universities and language schools have become involved in English education. However, there are more people who want to learn English than there are qualified people available to teach English. This state of affairs has led to a problem in the quality of English teaching in Thailand.

Teachers and Learners of English

Most academic institutions in Thailand provide academic as well as functional English programs. At academic institutions, functional English is based on academic English, so the requirements for university, college, and high school English teachers are usually a degree in linguistics or education and teaching experience. These regulations are supported by both the Ministry of Education and by the institutions themselves. These strict requirements mean that these TESOL teachers are highly paid and are somewhat hard to find.

There are a lot of language schools now in Thailand. The better schools provide different types of English courses for the different needs of individual students—both academic and functional English. Some TESOL teachers in these schools are trained and experienced, and some are not. The administrators of these schools arrange that suitable personnel teach each offered course.

Lesser reputation language schools usually provide only functional English courses. Because these schools pay lower salaries than either academic institutions or the better language schools, teachers are usually native speakers with neither training nor experience.

Most English learners in Thailand are concerned with functional English only. This group of learners includes people who want to use English in daily life; perhaps they work in Thailand for foreign companies or anticipate overseas travel. The other group of English learners includes people who will either work or study abroad. This group is concerned with both academic and functional English.

In my opinion, most English learners in Thailand believe that any native English speaker is capable of teaching English. If learners go to language schools and get what they want, they will be very pleased—regardless of whether their teachers are trained or untrained.

English Teacher Qualifications

I don't entirely agree that a TESOL license and an International Governing Organization

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of TESOL, as Mr. Clayton proposed in the Fall 1989 *Cross Currents* editorial, can solve the problem of English teacher quality. Maybe it will cause more problems than it will solve.

Mr. Clayton wrote:

> There are simply more people who want to learn English than there are qualified people to teach English....[U]niversities,...public schools, and the better language schools, attract the qualified TESOL professionals, leaving a professional vacuum in language schools which have perhaps a lesser reputation and pay lower salaries. This vacuum—a demand for teachers no matter what their qualification—is filled with the casual, unreal TESOL teacher. (p. 56)

This means that there is currently a greater demand than supply, even with no required license. If an International Governing Organization of TESOL promoted the benefits of professionally educated and licensed teachers, these qualified teachers would be in high demand. Given the current limited supply of qualified teachers, however, how would this demand be met? Perhaps it could be met by a greater influx of trained and educated TESOL teachers from English-speaking countries. But if the supply did not increase, wouldn't the "professional vacuum" grow wider?

High demand would cause high salaries, which would be good for licensed TESOL teachers. Universities and the better language schools could afford to pay for these teachers. But what about the small language schools? Of course they would want to hire licensed teachers: Their business goals are survival, growth, profit, and reputation; qualified teachers would help them achieve these goals. But if the salary of licensed TESOL teachers is too high for the small language schools to afford, they would have to choose the best teachers of the remaining "bad" lot. You see, the vacuum would be filled with "unreal" TESOL teachers again. It would be like a merry-go-round.

Some Options

The goals proposed by Mr. Clayton are that international TESOL should become a recognized and respected profession, that the quality of TESOL teachers should improve, and that the attitude "If you can speak English, you can teach English" should be changed. These are admirable goals, and I have a few suggestions.

1. *TESOL.* There are TESOL affiliates in many countries. These TESOL affiliates have to join together and think in the same way about licensing. In order to do this, one association would need to be selected as the leader.

2. *Training Course.* Prepare a TESOL training program. The objective of this program would be to give methodological and theoretical knowledge to those teachers who did not graduate in linguistics or education but who are interested in teaching English to speakers of other languages. If the participants pass the evaluation process, they would receive a license from TESOL. This internal education would solve the problem of teacher quality and would satisfy the increasing demand for trained English teachers. It would also improve the standard of language schools. Finally, the tuition from these training programs could be used by TESOL affiliates to further create and advance the TESOL profession.

3. *Advertising campaign.* After this internal training and licensure, prepare and present an advertising campaign about the benefits of licensed teachers through many different kinds of media.

Conclusion

If the current attitude toward English teaching and education persists, there will continue to be both trained and untrained TESOL teachers. This problem cannot be solved in a short period of time.

However, through internal education and licensing, the quality of English language teaching could quickly improve, the attitude toward English language teaching could change, and the TESOL profession could become recognized and respected internationally.

The Teacher-Researcher: Personal Reflections

John Swales

Early in 1989 I mentioned to a close and esteemed colleague that I had been invited to offer a contribution to a 1989 TESOL Convention panel "Relationships Between Research and Teaching." My snippet of news was received with amused incredulity: "You—on a research panel!" Being somewhat taken aback by this response, I failed to come up with an appropriate rejoinder. And, as so often happens, by the time the right comment was fighting its way towards overt speech, an appropriate turn in the exchange was no longer available. Of course what I should have said was, "Ah, but that's rather the point isn't it?"

A Case History

My colleague's bemusement would suggest that I would seem to have few credentials for being on such a panel. Do I look like a researcher? A person with only nine months of graduate education? A person who has been a humdrum administrator for all but three of the last 23 years? A person who has spent much of that period in university locations which, from the perspective of English language teaching (ELT) research, can best be described as somewhat obscure: Bari in Southern Italy, Benghazi and Tripoli on the North African coast, Khartoum on the middle reaches of the Nile, and Aston in the heart of the depressed English midlands. Not that bright a galaxy in the sky—certainly lacking the illumination of Lancaster or London, Nancy or Utrecht, Jyvaskyla or the American University of Cairo.

Worse, there are two further twists to this tale of exile from ELT researchers' Eden. One is a talent for moving on to other jobs at just about the time when my turn for sabbatical leave comes around—so no sabbaticals. The other is that I have tended to develop opportunities to teach service ELT (or more precisely English for Academic Purposes) rather than to become extensively involved in teacher education or in teaching various aspects of linguistics. This major concern with service has a department store pedestrianism about it, somewhat distanced from the airy atmosphere of the high fashion houses and their concerns to represent, create, and anticipate the latest trends.

And yet we need to add to this record, as a preface to another version of the same story, a modest string of publications. To what extent and in what number these papers can validly be described as *research* is a question to which there is no easy answer. For now, we can simply call them *stories*. Apart from a number of "where we are now" stories, they are essentially accounts of data. Some are accounts of textual data; some are accounts of success and failure in our professional affairs; some are accounts of nonnative speaker strategies, attitudes, and problems in what has become my main domain of investigation, the world of graduate education and research.

These accounts often involve numbers, but rarely statistics. They often involve analysis of performance, but rarely in the form of the pre- and post-testing of treatment effects. They often involve some discussion of situation, but one more typically characterized by anecdote than by serious ethnographic study. Perhaps in the end they are all versions of "where we are now" stories: where groups of students are; where the English language is; where scholars in particular fields are; where certain genres are; and where our programs are.

The story so far can have done little to convince the reader that my colleague was wrong in casting doubts on my qualifications for a research panel. Surely what we see here is a person who has stretched one of those short travel-about-the-world ELT careers beyond its limits: if not quite yet a Don Quixote figure, at

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most a practical methodologist, an occasional materials writer, a storyteller, an averagely well-read member of our profession.

Towards a General Picture: Opportunities

If so far I have uncovered a small puzzle, then let me recast the biodata in another way so that both the opportunities for and the threats to a "career" as a teacher-researcher are exposed to more general view. And in so doing, I will pluralize the personal pronoun.

Reconsider first our poor preparation: We have had little formal training, no apprenticeship as a junior member of a research department, and rarely a guru to guide our early faltering steps. "Deficits, deficits," the reader may say; and we, the great underprepared, have to agree. Yet we are also freed from imposed but increasingly obsolescent methodologies and research agendas. Also, the very self-evidence of our unpreparedness may encourage quite a wide range of reading. Indeed, if we are ignorant of aspects of our own home territory, we are also unsure of where its boundaries are, and so we may read naturally outside it. A lost sheep may stray into new pastures.

Now reconsider the administrative function. Even the humblest administrator is cast in some sort of leadership role. Perhaps the only kind of leadership we know how to offer is leadership by example, and perhaps there is some perception that our ELT unit *ought* to be carrying out some modest research program. In my own experience, being in charge of some small operations has done more to increase my research output than it has done to reduce it through so-called administrative load. Indeed, in those three years when I was *just* a junior teaching member of a department, I did less research than either before or since.

Finally reconsider the nature of the service ELT activities in which many of us are involved. In most cases, these activities are orchestrated by our desire to help our students survive and flourish in some occupational, professional, or academic environment. Gaining a better understanding of that environment, its ways with words and its perceptions and expectations, is thus part and parcel of the effectiveness of the teaching operation. In that sense, teaching and research are actually two aspects of the *same* enterprise—two birds with one stone. Actually, there are often three birds, since our involvement with senior personnel in fields quite other than our own provides excellent opportunities for advancing the seriousness and responsibility of our enterprise.

There is a disadvantage, though. The close engagement with a particular environment does mean that, if we change jobs, more likely than not our research agenda will also change. In my own case, for example, I used to be closely involved with both legal English and the English used in training medical technicians. However, it is now more than ten years since either of those engagements had any kind of institutional motivation. These disjunctions and dislocations seem much less obvious to me in the careers of colleagues who are concerned with models of second language acquisition or with general ESL classroom-centered research. In the latter cases, the research agendas are more transportable since they are less constrained by circumstance.

Towards A General Picture: Threats

In the previous section I offered some examples of what is sometimes called "means analysis," whereby apparent threats can be refigured as disguised opportunities. Real enough threats remain. One is *seduction of place*. For good and understandable reasons, many ELT teachers view their profession as an opportunity to experience other cultures. However, the teacher-researcher needs to retain a perspective on this opportunity. If *every* weekend is spent on exploratory travel, then not much else gets done. If *every* holiday opportunity is taken as an opportunity to put all thoughts of work aside, then projects will languish.

Another threat is the *no reward-no research* syndrome. How often have we heard teachers say, "But we aren't paid to do research and development." How often have we heard senior administrators say, "The instructors aren't paid to do research," or "You are a

service unit, not a research unit."

Do we accept such views? If we do, we may be closing off rightful opportunities for ourselves, our colleagues, and our successors. If we do, we may be confirming administrative prejudices about merely useful endeavors as opposed to highly respectable ones.

But if we reject such views, either tacitly or ostensibly, what have we to lose? Nothing, except for our time. For research in our field is largely a matter of time, rarely a matter of equipment, and only occasionally complicated by problems of access or shortage of data.

In addition to *seduction of place* and *no reward-no research* there is a third and perhaps more insidious threat to the potential teacher-researcher—the *effort of writing*. Professional researchers recognize that there are production quotas they must meet—projects have deadlines, grant-giving bodies require reports, and performance reviews expect publications. For we amateurs or part-timers it is so easy to say to ourselves that once we have done the study, talked about it to others, and generated a little enthusiasm, we have made our contribution—even though we knew in our hearts that it is publications that count. ABW: All But the Writing.

It seems so easy to believe, "Well all I need to do is just write it up...," but so often it turns out to be so difficult. We may fall prey to doubt—who would be interested in my stuff anyway?; we may feel that we must be missing crucial references which will diminish our credibility; we may consider too late in the process where we are going to submit the piece even if we do manage to get it finished. Our data base is probably somewhat messy because it is likely to have emerged opportunistically. Certainly, unlike *real* social scientists, we are not likely to have statistical packages to do the talking for us.

Indeed the whole writing business takes on added significance when we recognize that most teacher-investigators are usually tellers of tales. And this in turn produces a new round of opportunities and threats. If we can add depth to our accounts by judicious quotation, by including unusual references from our lateral reading, by telling anecdotes, and by being careful with voice and tone, we are off to an excellent start. If we can trace a difficult course between naivete and obscurity, and another between timid acceptance and intemperate criticism of other work, and a third between under- and over-confident generalization, then we must be home. And if after many false starts and different kinds of failure, we develop some small personal signature to our accounts, then that is a distinctive bonus. I stress these points because writing in our area is important. After all, a *good teller of a tale* may in the end become a *teller of a good tale*.

Conclusions

I have tried in this short essay to act as a spokesperson for the interests of those who want to be more than "just teachers" or for those who are seeking alternatives to "retiring" from direct teaching into administration, teacher education, or publishing. My purpose has been to reflect upon the threats and opportunities that aspiring teacher-researchers are likely to experience. In so doing, I have deliberately avoided saying anything about the *content* of the research itself, for this is hard to discuss in general terms, being typically a mix of individual enthusiasms, localized opportunities, and shifts in fashion.

Today we live in an age of increasing numbers of "para-careers" such as those followed by paramedics and paralegals. However, we should be cautious, I believe, about embracing a "para-career" of instructor-researcher if that means a self-limiting role as an auxiliary and subservient member of a larger research group. In general, I rather see at least some instructor-researchers continuing to operate as *independent* agents able to make their own connections between issues arising out of pedagogical experience and issues arising out of research development. For that's rather the point isn't it!

Short Responses from *Cross Currents'* International Readers

Different ESL Places, Different ESL Needs

My own view is that the future of TESOL lies with the teaching of ELT in schools, especially secondary schools. For that reason, I think that "international" TESOL will best be regarded as a collection of different though related interests and priorities, each set of which is determined by the conditions and feelings of students, parents, and teachers in different places and countries.

NORMAN WHITNEY
Editor, ELT Journal
London

Support for Thorough Teacher Education

Every ESL teacher should be a professionally trained applied linguist. I've seen far too many "teachers off the street." The ideal combination is a B.A. and M.A. in linguistics with a TESL certificate to boot, with 50 hours as an observer-teacher before being given an assignment. A B.A. in English is *not* a good preparation for teaching English as a foreign language in Japan or anywhere else.

I believe that a prospective teacher should be required also to be an intern with a master teacher for a semester or at least half a semester, in order to test the theoretical knowledge gained in graduate school.

ALAN S. KAYE
Professor of Linguistics, Arabic, and Hebrew
California State University
Fullerton, California

Support for the TESOL License

Regarding the editorial on teacher licensing, I would first state that we in Israel also face this problem: A large number of English-speaking immigrants mistakenly think that their mere competence in English is sufficient for teaching English as a foreign language.

In my capacity as Chief Inspector for English in the Israel Ministry of Education, I personally interview every aspiring teacher. Those with a teaching qualification in TEFL from a non-English-speaking country are first given a test in English proficiency and then directed to a reorientation course for teaching English in Israel; qualified teachers from English-speaking countries, whether in TEFL or not, are also directed to a reorientation course of 20 days observation and practical teaching in schools and a further 20 days of lectures on methodology and applied linguistics. English speakers who are graduates of universities in English-speaking countries attend a six-month full-time course where they study education and psychology as well as methodology and applied linguistics (with teaching observation and practice).

And what is more important—all TEFL teachers in Israel have to have a working knowledge of Hebrew if they wish to teach in the Jewish school system.

Untrained and unqualified personnel are not employed.

RAPHAEL GEFEN
Chief Inspector for English
Israel Ministry of Education
Jerusalem

I support the idea of licensing the TESOL profession. For TESOL to be more progressive and more effective, we need teachers who are professionally educated, not simply those who happen to know the language well. In order to meet this requirement, an international TESOL organization which has some kind of authority must be established.

SUPANEE TIANCHAROEN
Editor, PASAA Journal
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute
Bangkok, Thailand

ESL and the EEC

The problems ["International TESOL: Where Is Our Profession Going?"] outlined are only going to be exacerbated in Western Europe in

1992. My friends tell me that the new open job-access scheme will involve native-speaking teachers moving into the foreign language field, i.e. people trained in England to teach English as a first language will now be eligible for jobs in France teaching ESL. Fifty years of effort in Europe to establish that the trained, experienced nonnative-speaking teacher is better than the untrained native-speaking teacher may well start to crumble.

JOHN SWALES
Director, English Language Institute
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Changing TESOL Methodologies

What's this about TESOL methodology? Clayton neglects to mention that TESOL methodology, w[illegible]he wields like Excalibur, changes as ofte[illegible]e Italian government. Twenty years ago, a[illegible]ntrained teacher using a communicative and situational teaching style (winging it) would be much closer to current TESOL methodology than a "properly trained professional," who would have been using the audio-lingual approach.

MONTY CANTSIN
Nakano, Japan

The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program

It is a general understanding that post-war English teaching in Japan, on oral and aural skills in particular, has so far failed. But why?

It is easy to blame the teachers, the system, the students, cultural differences, etc., but the fact that the government is now importing "native speakers" and simply sending them to schools without any positive ideas on how to make the most of them, clearly indicates lack of policies or even short term strategies in the leaders' minds.

[In order to improve TESOL professionalism in Japan], TESOL teachers may well start with finding faults in the JET scheme, analyzing them, and inundating the government, media, etc., with reports and complaints.

NAOHIKU FUKUSHIMA
Lecturer, Japanese Department
Swinburne Institute of Technology
Melbourne, Australia

I am currently involved in the JET Program and am working in a high school in a town of about 70,000 people. My purpose in coming to Japan, unlike many of my colleagues, was to gain some classroom experience so that when I returned to America to finish my teaching certification I could bring some experience to bear on my English education studies.

The JET Program is effective in many ways, mainly in the area of international exchange, but I feel that I need some kind of professional support to lend credibility to my efforts. Instead of putting on my clown act, I would like to give my students some solid ways to study English in a more research-based way. I think many JET participants feel that they are doing a good job if they can just keep the students entertained by providing good games, but after a while many become disillusioned by the fact that they are no more than a "tape recorder" or a "vaudeville act."

I care about my students and about their success with the English language, and I think they deserve more.

ROBERT KJAR
Assistant English Teacher
Hanyu Daiichi High School
Hanyu City, Japan

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BOOK REVIEWS

Intercultural Communication: Between Japan and the United States. Kenji and S. Kathleen Kitao. Eichosha Shinsha (Tokyo), 1989.

Reviewed by Catherine Duppenthaler

The language teaching profession seems to be getting more eclectic by the day. A teacher is no longer well-prepared if he or she is merely well-versed in methods; the profession is seeing the influence of an ever-wider range of disciplines—psychology (learning strategies and styles), neurolinguistics, drama, anthropology, and communications, to name but a few. With the recent opening of a number of intercultural studies departments in Japanese colleges and universities, teachers with backgrounds in TESL/TEFL are finding themselves increasingly interested in intercultural communication, specifically, the influence of culture and intercultural communication on language teaching and learning.

The Kitaos have put together a book of readings which may help satisfy this need. Their book is a compilation of papers they have written over the past 13 years, most of which have been published elsewhere in journals such as *World Communication, Human Communication Studies, Speech Education,* and *Doshisha Studies in English.* A number of papers are based on research done originally more than ten years ago for Kenji Kitao's dissertation, "The Teaching of American Culture in English Courses In Japan" (University of Kansas, 1977). Many of them function admirably as introductions to various sub-disciplines in the field, giving summaries of the best-known works in each.

According to the authors, these papers are being presented now in book form to help those interested in language teaching clear up the potential misunderstanding between Japan and the United States:

> This misunderstanding can be caused not only by language barriers but also by cultural differences between the two countries. The purpose of this book is to increase the understanding of these differences and the potential problems they can cause. (p. iii)

Also, by inference, the book serves to alert the teacher to extra-linguistic problems which should be addressed in the language class. The descriptions of language teaching in Japanese secondary schools should also make the foreign teacher more aware of his or her students' language learning background.

Section I

The book is divided into three sections. The first section, "Introduction to Intercultural Communication," describes the history of the study of communication between Japan and the United States and outlines some of the communication difficulties that people of these two countries encounter. Some of the sources

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of these difficulties—formality and informality, and directness of expression, for example—are also discussed.

The first paper in this section, "The Study of Intercultural Communication in the United States: A Brief History to the Early 1980's," is a discussion of the development of the study of intercultural communication in the United States. This paper provides the reader with standard definitions for commonly used terms in the field. This paper also contains a list of textbooks in the field of intercultural communications published up to and during 1979. While it is not the intent of the author to discuss the development of the field past the early 1980s, it is unfortunate that no mention is made of Condon's *Cultural Dimensions of Communication*, 1980 or of Samovar, Porter, and Jain's *Understanding Intercultural Communication*, 1981. Both books have been translated into Japanese; they are *Ibunkakan Komyunication: Karucha Gyappu no Rikai*, Saimaru Press (Tokyo), 1980 and *Komyunication: Kokusaijin Yoseino Tameni*, Seibunsha (Tokyo), 1983, respectively.

Section II

The second section, "Influences on Culture and Cultural Influences," contains seven papers, including one which discusses research on the much-debated influence of natural environment on the development of value systems and language. Work by Japanese researchers is cited to suggest that the physical environment may be responsible for the overuse of the passive voice by Japanese learners of English.

To my mind, the two most interesting papers in this section are the ones which deal with group interaction and politeness strategies. In the latter, "Differences Between Politeness Strategies Used in Requests by Americans and Japanese," the author states something that should be of direct interest to teachers:

> In English, including other people in one's own group by use of informal language is polite, but keeping other persons outside the group is polite in Japan. (p. 146)

In other words, Japanese students, who can easily recognize which forms are more polite than others, might be expected to have difficulty in using them appropriately. Unfortunately, most textbooks take great pains to teach the grammatical structure of request forms, for example, but put less effort into making sure the students know when to use them, much less into creating such an elegant rule of thumb to help determine usage.

Section III

The third section, "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture," focuses on Japanese students' contact with, knowledge of, and problems with American culture. It includes studies of all stages of contact with American culture, from the first English textbook used in junior high school (see "The Teaching of American Culture in Secondary English Courses in Japan: An Analysis of Textbooks") to problems of adjustment experienced by Japanese college students who have studied in the United States ("Awareness of American Culture: A Survey of Japanese College Students in the U.S.").

One paper, "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life," reports on the administration of the Test of American Culture in 1976 and 1988. This test, which covers 50 aspects of American culture, is intended to measure how well Japanese students know the nuts-and-bolts factual aspects of American life—politics, postage rates, table seating and setting, forms of address, holidays, customs, etc. It might be a good idea for teachers (especially teachers of survival English) to take this test, not to measure how well they can answer the questions, but to reveal how much of this information they are teaching to students who might travel or live in the United States in the future.

Some Problems

A few words of caution are needed at this point. First, the book is not an overview of the

state-of-the-art methods for cross-cultural training. It is not intended to tell the teacher what to teach in the classroom. It contains no mention of experiential learning, interaction approaches, or other specific training methods developed over the past 12 years. It is not a "cookbook" for whipping up cultural simulations. It does, however, highlight problems teachers should be aware of which may impede their students' ability to communicate (see "Differences in Color Associations of Americans and Japanese" and "Difficulties Japanese Have in Reading English") and explain why certain English structures may be over or under used (see "Differences Between Politeness Strategies Used in Requests by Americans and Japanese" and "Effects of Natural Environments on American and Japanese Communication").

In addition, some of these papers were written as early as 1976. The authors, however, feel that all of them are still pertinent.

> We do not believe that the situation has changed greatly. For example, we administered the Test of American Culture again in 1988 to a second group of Japanese students in Japan (see "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life"). We found that, although the sample included more English majors...the students' knowledge of the United States was not much greater than that of the sample of Japanese students...in the original study. (p. vi)

One very frustrating aspect of this book is the format. Most of the papers have been published in other journals and are presented here in much their original form. No attempt has been made to eliminate many sections which are highly repetitive or to alleviate the dryness of the prose. The presentation of these papers as distinct entities allows for a great deal of redundancy which would have been eliminated if the information had been combined and presented in chapter form.

Finally, some of the papers are collections of brief summaries of research on certain topics. Little attempt at critical analysis is made. The handling of Umegaki's paper on the influence of nature on language (see "Effects of Natural Environments on American and Japanese Communication") is a case in point:

> The distinctive character of human nature in the monsoon zone...can be understood as submissive and resigned. People lack active attitudes toward nature and experience it so emotionally that they grow very explanatory and lyrical [Umegaki, 1961]. (p. 65)

Not only does this assertion go unexamined, but subsequent research which might refute or support it is not mentioned.

A Useful Bibliography

As stated above, this is not a cookbook for classroom activities; it is more a work of reference. For those who would use it in this sense, the most valuable part is the excellent 200-page bibliography which lists more than 2200 books and journal articles in the following categories: General, Theory, Area Studies, Cross-Cultural Study, Training, Research, Interpersonal Communication, Nonverbal Communication, Mass Communication, Business/Organizational Communication, Culture and Education, Teaching English, Culture in Language Teaching, Teaching Culture, Teaching Intercultural Communication, Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, International Communication, Interracial/Interethnic Communication, Multicultural Studies, Counseling, Non-Native Speakers and the Law, Subcultural Groups, and Other.

Entries in the bibliography are not annotated and the vast majority of those listed were published before 1986. The reader would have to go elsewhere for a complete list of books published in the last four years.

Conclusion

This is not the type of book I would buy and try to read from cover to cover; it is too dry and redundant for that. It would be more appropriate as an acquisition for the reference section of a high school or college library.

New Wave 1 and 2. Robert Maple. Longman Group UK Ltd., 1988.

Reviewed by Susan Murley

New Wave 1 and *New Wave 2* form an attractively packaged unit consisting of a Student's Book, a Student's Activity Book, and a Teacher's Book, as well as a Student's Book tape and an Activity Book tape for each level.

New Wave 1 is designed for both beginners and false beginners. According to the author, it is specifically designed for students of EFL, as opposed to students of ESL, and aims to address the needs of students living in non-English-speaking countries. The *New Wave* series attempts to improve upon earlier teaching texts that were solely based upon the communicative approach whereby oral fluency was sometimes unduly emphasized at the expense of accuracy. It is the author's opinion that students in ESL situations will acquire correct grammar and pronunciation in daily practice in the same fashion that young children do. However, EFL students are only exposed to English in an isolated classroom setting a few hours per week and most probably do not speak English daily. For them, additional practice in grammar and pronunciation is necessary.

Each unit begins with a presentation dialogue divided into two parts. The first dialogue is not printed in the Student's Book; this focuses the student's attention on listening only. I find the quality of the tapes to be very good: They are slow enough for beginners, yet the pronunciation and intonation are natural; they even include a bit of "relaxed pronunciation." The unit then moves logically onward to controlled oral practice and finally to an interview or conversation in which the students use the new structures and functions in freer contexts. These free activities include role plays, conversation games, and information gap exercises. This part of the unit provides separate information for students working in pairs. Student A looks at one page in the unit itself, while Student B is directed to another in the back of the book. This system encourages an authentic information-sharing exercise.

Grammar and pronunciation exercises are presented in each unit in such a way that the students should be able to help themselves internalize new grammatical structures, though perhaps the number of grammar examples is insufficient. A "Read on Your Own" activity concludes each unit. Varied comprehension exercises follow these short reading passages, but the main idea is that students should be reading for general meaning and not be hampered by the fact they do not understand every single word.

The *New Wave* Activity Books are expressly designed for students to use on their own. This provides strongly motivated students with the opportunity of practicing and recycling material learned during direct contact hours. As mentioned previously, the average EFL student has perhaps very little opportunity to exercise his English skills outside of the few classroom hours that he has every week. The Activity Book should be used to encourage students to take responsibility for their own learning.

New Wave 1 and *New Wave 2* both deal with authentic situations that students will have to deal with when traveling or studying in English-speaking countries: deciphering airline announcements, telling time, shopping for food and clothing, applying for employment and admission to schools, ordering food in a restaurant, etc. There are also useful activities on filling in different types of forms: immigration, hotel registration, credit card registration, etc.

All books in the series are profusely illustrated with attractive photographs, good black and white line drawings, and amusing cartoons. However, the presentation page of each unit has rather bizarre colored cartoon illustrations of the main characters with unnatural, grotesque displays of teeth.

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I particularly like the "Optional Extras" activity pages in the Teacher's Books which the teacher can utilize for language games and free oral practice without having to scrounge fruitlessly through unrelated books on games to obtain something that will fit in with the current structure or function being taught. I am slightly uncomfortable with the author's assumption that the teacher will provide some information in the first language—I would find this impossible in my present teaching situation, as I do not speak Japanese!

In general, *New Wave 1* and *New Wave 2* are good introductory texts for beginning and lower intermediate students. The units are interestingly and logically organized to encourage language learning. The course provides for a student-centered classroom where language learning can proceed in a relaxed and supportive environment.

Secretarial Contacts. Nick Brieger and Anthony Cornish. Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd., 1989.

Reviewed by Chris Quinsee

Secretarial Contacts is the latest welcome addition to the series that includes *Business Contacts* and *Early Business Contacts*, published by Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd. The book comes with a cassette that contains dialogues with a variety of British and American accents.

Authors Brieger and Cornish have put together a book to meet the listening and speaking, reading and writing needs of trainees in secretarial and personal assistant studies. Aimed at the pre-intermediate level and above, the book contains 26 units that cover the language essential to a wide range of secretarial functions. These include reception, telephone and social communication, as well as conferences, business meetings, equipment, and processes.

The format largely follows the style of *Early Business Contacts*; it is well laid out and clear and easy to follow. Most units contain reading activities and tasks relating to the overall focus of the lesson. These may include realistic business documents, reports, letters, itineraries, and so on. Thus the emphasis is on both the form and the language required to carry out the function. These reading activities and tasks, in turn, relate to the speaking and listening activities within the unit.

All the units follow the same basic format: "Listening/Reading," "Presentation" (language content), "Controlled Practice" (written exercises), and "Transfer" (oral and/or written exercises). Also included at the end of each unit is a "Word Check"—a glossary of major vocabulary from the unit. Note that a feature of this book is a vocabulary index with unit references at the end of the text.

Another useful feature is the inclusion of four appendices containing the most common abbreviations for telexes and other forms of documentation, as well as telephone language for in-coming and out-going calls. The other appendix shows the standard forms of various business letters, such as request, complaint, orders, and others.

Straightforward notes for teachers give suggestions for using the book, though this reviewer feels that *Secretarial Contacts* is flexible enough to be adapted to specific needs. It is certainly suitable for language content courses in secretarial studies programs, for native speakers and ESL students alike. It could also be good for self-study.

There is a theme running through the text, based on a company and the tasks performed by its personal assistant from the time she applies for the position onwards. However, the units are topic and language based and are not graded. This reviewer feels that several units in this text would be applicable to the needs of business students in our institute's business English skills course. Also the appendices

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contain the kinds of information that many business English students ask for.

With all this praise it may seem a minor quibble to comment on the artwork. However, despite the excellent graphics, the sketches of people seem oddly quaint and comic. Nevertheless, this is a minor point and does not detract from the text.

In conclusion, Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd. is to be congratulated on publishing another excellent book in the *Contacts* series. *Secretarial Contacts* is highly recommended for intermediate and advanced students of business English and secretarial courses, whether second or first language learners.

Formula One. Hazel Imbert, Ron White, and Eddie Williams. Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1989.

Reviewed by Sarah Parsons

"I'm reviewing *Formula One*," I told a fellow teacher.

"It sounds like a car," she said.

She was right. Macmillan's *Formula One* becomes the Formula One race car, driven by Team Falcon. Written by Hazel Imbert, Ron White, and Eddie Williams, the text includes a Teacher's Book, Student's Book, Workbook, and Workbook Cassette. *Formula One* is the first level in a three-year series designed for beginners or false beginners. The text develops a plot revolving around Team Falcon and the television crew covering the team at the Goldstone Grand Prix. The plot emerges as the text's main strength. The characters build relationships that evolve throughout the text; this continuity adds interest to the presentation of basic structures for adult students.

The plot develops only through cartoons every fourth lesson, but the rest of the lessons include the same characters; information about relationships is presented in dialogues every other lesson. I think this consistency would work well in classes where attendance is not regular as well as in classes where attendance is regular. Students who attend regularly can try to predict what will happen in the story line, and students who attend irregularly will not be left behind.

Another of the text's strengths is the everyday, casual language used. The recorded dialogues include "really," "you know," and "come on," removing some of the artificiality of dialogues. And the topics presented are fun—not run-of-the-mill textbook topics. For example, the lesson titled "We Danced Till Midnight" starts with one woman telling another woman about the fabulous date she had. Other lesson titles are: "Let's Have A Drink," "I Want Some Whisky," "You're Trying To Get Me Drunk," and "Everybody Needs Love." These lessons all have great potential for teaching real-life functional language in an adult language class.

Formula One also introduces an impressive number of vocabulary items, amounting to eight pages in the Student's Book. Each item is indexed according to the unit in which it occurs. All of the books please the eye. They are printed on high-quality paper which should withstand wear and tear. The Teacher's Book is spiral-bound so that it can open flat on the desk. The voices on the cassette recording sound natural and fluent.

Some of the exercises in the Workbook are a little strange. For example, a writing exercise with the question "Are they Americans?" and the clue (RNFACE) is supposed to lead you to the answer "No, they're from France." However, most of the exercises are straightforward and clear. *Formula One* does rely on many reading and writing activities, which may hamper teachers of conversation classes.

Overall, I would recommend *Formula One* to teachers of beginners and false beginners. The interesting story line, casual language, and fun topics make *Formula One* an accessible textbook for both students and teachers.

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The Inward Ear. Alan Maley and Alan Duff. Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Reviewed by Robert Ruud

Alice says upon looking in her sister's book, "What is the use of a book without pictures or conversations?" At first glance, Alice might not like *The Inward Ear* either: There are few pictures and even fewer conversations. But she would certainly develop an affection for it, as it plays to her appreciation of seeing a thing upside down, her delight in surprise, her quest for answers in opposites, alternatives, and metaphor, and her simple love of language.

Too many materials are designed for markets instead of students these days, and too many proceed numbly through "Listen to the tape—Practice the dialogue—Now you do it," pretending as they do so that they have hit upon the secret sequence of morpheme acquisition. So it is a pleasure for language teachers to discover a publication of ESL materials as creative and engaging as *The Inward Ear*. The authors say the activities are for students of both language and literature. Although literature as a subject is not emphasized in this book, the authors' appreciation of important ideas expressed well is obvious and infectious. They suggest: "Poetry offers a rich resource for input to language learning. As such it is at least as relevant as the more commonly accepted types of input (e.g. contrived dialogues, isolated texts for reading comprehension, simulations, etc.). So, it should be given at least equal weight" (p. 7).

The book consists of four main sections: "Preparing for the poem," "Working into the poem," "Working out from the poem," and "Speaking poetry." In the general area of writing poetry, there are also four main sections: "Using models," "Words," "Random association," and "Experience."

Activities and exercises in *The Inward Ear* are varied, interesting, and original. One exercise has students working in pairs to describe an incident solely through phrasal verbs. An example is "An Evening's TV Viewing":

> rush in
> switch on
> sit down
> nod off
> snooze away
> wake up (p. 140)

An example of a poem written through a listing exercise is "As Illogical as Love":

> As radiant as wine,
> As talkative as rain,
> As taciturn as a mood,
> As indigestible as wood,
> As provoking as the wind,
> As irritable as the sea,
> As casual as tea,
> As tight-fitting as a glove—
> As illogical as love... (p. 138)

One minor fault of the book is a common one among "communicative" materials and approaches. There is a fear (albeit a mild one) of right answers and factual verification, even in situations that obviously require them. In one exercise, students listen to a poem read aloud and are told to reconstruct it. The instructions to the teacher emphasize allowing for disagreement. Of course disagreement can and will occur and should of course be allowed, but the task at the initial stage of the exercise is to reproduce a definite form. In other words, the task is not to interpret, but to establish factual common knowledge which will serve as the basis for the interpretation which follows. In the interpretation phase, support of opinion with evidence replaces strict verification. Disagreement naturally occurs, but is subject, appropriately, to students' power of persuasion. More recognition of this progression would be good in a book of this kind.

Memorization is also underplayed in this book. The authors say: "It would be odd to

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encounter someone whose speech was punctuated by fragments of poetry" (pp. 10-11). But many students like memorization if it is handled carefully, and students of poetry seem especially receptive to at least some memorization. Certainly forcing students to memorize long passages of Proust justifies revolt, but remembering, of which memorization is an important aspect, can nearly be equated with learning itself. "Punctuated," as the authors use it, indicates an extreme which would obviously be "odd." However, quoting poetry is not uncommon in everyday speech, and occasional poetic references can solidify cultural bonds, clarify cultural insights, crystallize the essence of an issue or point, and entertain and impress. To the authors' credit, they say: "While we would not want to lay stress on the conscious memorization of poetry, it would be a pity not to take advantage of [students'] natural ability to unconsciously absorb language through poetry" (p. 11).

There is an excellent selection of poems, both original and reprinted, and good references to anthologies, both for further reading of poetry and for more teaching ideas. In general, this is an excellent book which I believe could convince teachers with students of any age or learning purpose that poetry could play an important and even central part in their curriculum, even in classes which are not ostensibly poetry classes. The authors respectfully limit the *content* they give teachers in this book and emphasize the *means* to teach. They thereby encourage teachers and students to communicate with each other through poetry of their own.

Self-Access. Susan Sheerin. Oxford University Press, 1989.

Reviewed by Scott Jarrett

Self-Access is part of the series Resource Books for Teachers, edited by Alan Maley. It focuses on one area of current concern in the field of language learning: self-access or student-initiated learning. The stated goal of the book is to help teachers set up and manage a self-access area; the guidance proffered in this volume should provide any interested teacher with more than enough material, both specific and general, to accomplish the task.

Author Susan Sheerin first briefly examines the concept and rationale of "self-access." Allowing students to find and use materials with minimal teacher supervision is an idea that many teachers find attractive, especially considering such factors as learner differences and the modern world's growing need for self-assisted education. The author does not, however, play down the problems involved in introducing self-access, not the least of which is learner resistance to the independence and responsibility that s/he must assume.

The first chapter, "Getting started," provides a comprehensive plan for setting up a self-access center. Suggestions here range from how to plan the physical layout of the center to the kinds of materials (published and self-produced) and equipment that can be used to stock the center. Practical advice abounds, such as the recommendation to place the listening/speaking area and the library office near the entrance to the center so that the noisiest activities and the worst traffic will be restricted to one sector. The quiet areas should be, of course, as far from this sector as is practical.

This attention to detail is evident throughout the book and leaves the reader with few questions regarding implementation. However, the author continually stresses the adaptability of the processes and exercises, giving imaginative teachers free reign to create their own versions of self-access centers.

Chapter 2, "Ways in and through," covers what Sheerin calls "learner training" (p. 34). Although a teacher or staff person should always be available in a self-access center, the learner's job includes orientation and training. Essential

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to this are well-labeled materials and a clear classification system, as well as task sheets that facilitate the new user's exploration of and familiarization with the center. In this chapter Sheerin also covers level assessment (with the choices of informal assessment, placement testing, and self-assessment), needs assessment and analysis, and study guides.

Having led the reader through the process of setting up a self-access center and orienting and training learners, the author proceeds in the next three chapters to provide the kinds of exercises and activities necessary to sustain learner interest in such a center. Chapter 3, "Receptive skills," deals with self-access activities for reading and listening. Chapter 4, "Productive skills," contains writing and speaking self-access activities. Chapter 5, "Building blocks," deals with grammar and vocabulary self-access activities. At the beginning of each chapter, Sheerin clearly states what types of activities follow and the order in which they will be covered—a valuable service for the teacher who must rely heavily on published material.

The organization of the activities is especially lucid and easy to follow. The main divisions of each activity are "Pre-task/task," "Post-task," and "About the task."

Each pre-task segment contains a classification for the activity, the appropriate student level and age, the activity type, and the activity aim. Classification is simple and enables learners to quickly locate appropriate activities from the available materials. Sheerin suggests color-coding the levels so that it is easy for students to browse for suitable activities. The task itself contains instructions and a task sheet.

The post-task segment typically includes a tapescript and follow-up suggestions to the student. This section should be not be viewed by the student until the task is completed, as it includes the answer key.

The final segment, "About this task," contains useful suggestions, variations, and sources for the teacher.

The variety of activities ensures that learners need never avoid the center because of a lack of interest. All the exercises can be executed without using special equipment except perhaps a tape recorder. However, the author strongly recommends the use of computers and video equipment where practical and within the constraints of budget and space.

Self-Access has no serious flaws other than those inherent in student-initiated learning itself. For example, Sheerin acknowledges the limitations of a self-access center as it relates to writing, but she works well within those limitations. Writing is an area of self-access where computer use would be very beneficial, a fact noted early in the book.

Self-Access will be an invaluable primer for those who are seriously considering setting up a self-access center. However, the activities and exercises in this book would also be useful in the conventional ESL/EFL classroom, especially where there are great differences in learner ability. Following the book slavishly has obvious limitations, but if used as Sheerin intended it to be used, as a starting point, the only limits are the teacher's imaginative powers.

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WORLD ENGLISHES

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WE is aimed at students, researchers and teachers, and is integrative in its approach to the study and teaching of English language and literature. The primary concern in the sphere of literature is with 'non-native' literatures in English.
The journal also provides evaluative and critical articles in methodology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and stylistics, and encourages discussion and debate through the "Comments and Replies" section.

A Selection of Papers
S ROMAINE (UK), English and Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English) in Papua New Guinea.
C JOURDAN (USA), Nativization and anglicization in Solomon Islands Pijin.
T CROWLEY (Vanuatu), English in Vanuatu.
J SIEGEL (Australia), English in Fiji.
T HUEBNER (USA), Language and schooling in Western and American Samoa.
R UNDERWOOD (USA), English and Chamorro on Guam.
P PINE (Thailand) & **W SAVAGE** (USA), Marshallese and English: evidence for an immersion model of education in the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

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Books intended for review should be labelled REVIEW MATERIAL and should include a cover letter explaining desired review procedures.

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BOOKS

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Institute of Culture and Communication Summer Workshop. July 11-20, 1990. The East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. The workshop is for college and university faculty who wish to develop courses in intercultural and international topics. Participants will examine texts, interact with East-West Center staff familiar with a variety of courses, discuss issues with the authors of texts currently used in intercultural courses, share ideas with each other, and develop course outlines. The general areas within which courses can be developed are the Behavioral Sciences, Social Sciences, and Education. For information write: Mr. Larry Smith or Dr. Richard Brislin, East-West Center, Institute of Culture and Communication, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848, U.S.A.

Fred W. Malkemes Prize. A prize of $1000 will be awarded for an article in English published in the two years preceding the submission deadline. Any topic which makes a contribution to our knowledge of teaching and classroom practice will be considered. Special areas of interest are: teacher education, adult literacy, instructional materials for beginning students, and teaching English in Puerto Rico and Africa. Please remark briefly in a cover letter which special feature of the article makes it outstanding and appropriate for the Prize. Send the letter and six copies of the article to: The Malkemes Prize, The American Language Institute, #1 Washington Square North, New York, New York 10003, U.S.A. Submissions must be posted by November 1, 1990.

New Journal and Call for Papers. ***The International Journal*** is a periodical dedicated to greater international understanding through person-to-person communication. *TIJ* will publish personal written accounts from people in all parts of the world. These will include any writings which describe an individual's personal experiences relating to his or her culture: essays, anecdotes, poetry, or narratives which help us to understand ourselves and each other better in the context of our unique cultural traditions. For more information, write: Richard Deshaies, Publisher, *TIJ*, 10 Eastern Ave., Concord, NH 03301, U.S.A.

New TESOL Video Interest Section. The TESOL Executive Board announces a new Video Interest Section (Video IS) to represent the interests of users and producers of video for teaching English as a second/foreign language. The Video IS agenda for 1989-1990 includes continued publication of the *Video Newsletter*, expansion of the *Video Materials Directory*, and organization of other projects related to video in language instruction, teacher training, and research. For more information please contact: Susan Stempleski, Hunter College IELI, 1025 East Building, 695 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10021, U.S.A.

Announcement. Due to time constraints and changes in editorial staff, the version of **Learning English on Stage** published in *Cross Currents* Volume 16, Number 2, Fall 1989 contained revisions which were not approved by the authors, **Glenn Gainer, Brenda Lee, and William Lee**. The Editor regrets any inconvenience this may have caused.

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Recent Articles

P. Fanning (UK), Skills-based Syllabuses: Some Issues.

D.E. Murray (USA), Computer-mediated Communication: Implications for ESP.

M. Tarantino (Italy), Italian In-Field EST Users Self-Assess Their Macro- and Micro-Level Needs: A Case Study.

P. Master (USA), Generic *The* in *Scientific American*.

E. McKenna (USA), Preparing Foreign Students to Enter Discourse Communities in the U.S.

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An Interdisciplinary Journal

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This journal is unique in that it provides a forum devoted to the discussion of topics and issues in communication which is of interdisciplinary significance. It publishes contributions from researchers on all fields relevant to the study of verbal and non-verbal communication. The investigation of language and its communicational functions are treated as a concern shared in common by those working in anthropology, the arts, artificial intelligence, education, ethology, linguistics, physiology, philosophy, psychology and the social sciences.
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A Selection of Papers
R K HERBERT & H S STRAIGHT (USA), Compliment-rejection versus compliment-avoidance: listener-based versus speaker-based pragmatic strategies.
H DAVIS (USA), What makes bad language bad?
C CRANGLE (USA), On saying 'Stop' to a robot.
T PATEMAN (UK), On language and morality.
R FINNIGAN (UK), Communication and technology.
R HARRIS (UK), How does writing restructure thought?
J D BOLTER (USA), Beyond word processing: the computer as a new writing space.
M MAZOR (USA), Really relativism: dialectic interpretations of Saussure.

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LANGUAGE SCIENCES contains articles, reports on research data and book reviews, and Review Articles and short Notes may also be accepted for publication. Special Issues may also be published on topics of particular interest and the editor will welcome suggestions.

A Selection of Papers
N D BAKER & P M GREENFIELD (USA), The Development of new and old information in young children's early language.
A NINIO (Israel), The roots of narrative: discussing recent events with very young children.
S HARKNESS (USA), The cultural construction of semantic contingency in mother-child speech.
M TOMASELLO (USA), The role of joint attentional processes in early language development.
J M BOHANNAN III & A W LEUBECKER (USA), Recent development in speech to children: we've come a long way, baby-talk.
S A KUCZA II & R H BORYS (USA), The overgeneralization of morphological forms as a function of experience.
C PYE (USA), Towards an anthropology of language acquisition.
E L NEWPORT (USA), Constraints on learning and their role in language acquisition: studies of the acquisition of American sign language.
J VORSTER (South Africa), Paraphrasing: extending the data base for child language research.
F C C PENG (Japan), On the acquisition of discourse among autistic children.
B G BLOUNT (USA), Cognition and phonology in acquisition of plurals and possessives by Luo children.

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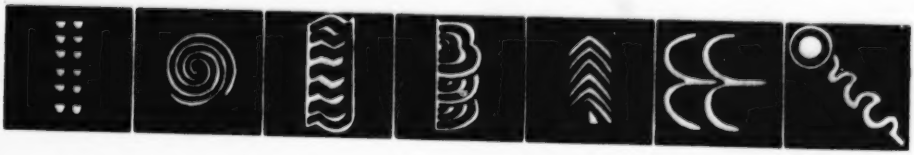

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For Japanese Teachers of English 1990

The Language Institute of Japan is pleased to announce the 22nd annual Summer Workshop for Japanese Teachers of English.

The Workshop is LIOJ's premier event: a full week of presentations, language classes, lectures, and many other activities, all conducted in a total-immersion, residential, English-only environment.

All of us—Japanese teachers, LIOJ faculty, overseas guests from Thailand, Korea, the Philippines, People's Republic of China, and other countries—will have many opportunities for cross-cultural interaction through attending presentations, taking meals together, having parties together, chatting about daily life, and discussing issues in and outside the field of language teaching.

We look forward to greeting friends from past workshops and hope to make many new ones as well. See you here in August!

Elective Workshops

This year, we will offer as wide a variety of presentation topics as possible. Presenters will focus on topics in their area of expertise—activating English, enlivening textbooks, using video, using drama, and many other subjects.

Regular Language and Special Focus Classes

Language Classes will include both Regular Classes and popular Special Focus Classes. The goal of these classes is to brush up English by providing opportunities for participants to practice communication skills.

FEATURED PRESENTERS

René Cisneros: Professor, Metropolitan State University, USA
Barry Tomalin: Manager and Editor, BBC, UK
Alan Maley: Director-General, Bell Educational Trust, UK
Elizabeth Leone: Professor, Bemidji State University, USA
Don Maybin: Lecturer, Kagawa University
Robert O'Neill: Author, *The Kernel Series*, UK
Sumako Kimizuka: Professor, University of Southern California, USA
Denley Pike: Academic Director, English Language Center of Australia

Date: August 12-18, 1990
Tuition: ¥97,000 (includes participation in the workshop, room, and board)

For further information contact:
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4-14-1 Shiroyama, Odawara, Kanagawa 250 Japan
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LIOJ

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LIOJ is a private organization supported by a not-for-profit educational foundation, the Zaidan Hojin M.R.A. House. The Institute was founded in the spring of 1968 as a small experimental school specializing in preparing Japanese to work or study abroad. LIOJ does this by offering intensive training in English and an experience dealing with non-Japanese in an English-only environment designed to promote cross-cultural communication and encounter. Besides the residential Business Communication Program, LIOJ offers language courses to the Odawara community for both adults and children through its Community Program and offers a variety of special programs to individual organizations. LIOJ annually hosts a Summer Workshop for Japanese Teachers of English and also sponsors fellowships and scholarships to overseas participants in the Business Communication Program and the Summer Workshop.

A primary goal at LIOJ has been that the LIOJ experience should be rewarding to both students and teachers alike. LIOJ's purposes as an institute extend basically in two directions: those which center on ways to serve the needs of Japan and the international scene at large; and those which center on maintaining a favorable teaching environment which is conducive to creativity and involvement in the field of language and cross-cultural training. These goals are by no means mutually exclusive: Making efforts in one direction often leads to successes in the other. LIOJ was instrumental in the establishment of the Japanese Association of Language Teachers (JALT) in 1975 and continues to be a supporter of the association. Many English language curriculum materials developed by members of the LIOJ faculty have been published internationally. Since 1972, LIOJ has published the widely respected journal of international communication, *Cross Currents*.

The Business Communication Program

With this program, LIOJ pioneered the intensive total-immersion business English/cultural training method which is common in Japan today. A total of 215 four-week and two two-week terms have been offered since the program was begun 1968. To date, 615 Japanese and international companies have sent 5309 company personnel to participate in LIOJ's Business Programs. Approximately 60% of these participants have gone on to conduct business or receive training in foreign countries, while 40% use English while based in Japan.

In April 1990, LIOJ introduced two-week Business English Programs, also specializing in total-immersion English language/cultural training. LIOJ will offer four two-week and nine four-week Business Programs in 1990.

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The Community Program

LIOJ's Community Program was begun in 1968. Approximately 800 students in the Odawara area are currently enrolled in the program. Classes serve the needs of a wide population, from pre-elementary school students to adults. The Community Program also facilitates International Understanding classes in an ongoing team-teaching project in Odawara public schools.

The Summer Workshop

Every summer since 1969, LIOJ has hosted a Summer Workshop for Japanese Teachers of English. This week-long residential workshop includes language study, special lectures and programs, and seminars on a variety of teaching methods and techniques. In 1989, 130 Japanese teachers of English from all parts of Japan, six scholarship presenters from foreign institutions, and two scholarship presenters from within Japan participated in the workshop. The workshop also attracts many respected, internationally known presenters. Special guest presenters have included John Fanselow, Paul LaForge, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Robert O'Neill, Alan Maley, and Richard Via.

Special Programs

LIOJ is periodically called upon to give special programs or to conduct testing and evaluation for companies and organizations. In the past, LIOJ has conducted special programs for the Matsushita Institute of Government and Management, the Hakone Machi International Association, and the Odawara City English Program.

Fellowships and Scholarships

In conjunction with long-term goals of improving language teaching in Japan and abroad, LIOJ provides fellowships and scholarships to teachers and students from foreign institutions. Fellowship and scholarship recipients come to LIOJ as assistants, observers, and students during regular Business Communication Programs. In addition, LIOJ invites scholarship presenters from foreign institutions, as well as from within Japan, to attend the Summer Workshop and share language teaching knowledge.

LIOJ offered 20 fellowships and scholarships to foreign teachers and students in 1989. Fellowship and scholarship recipients in these programs have come from Thailand, Korea, the Philippines, the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, India, and Hong Kong.

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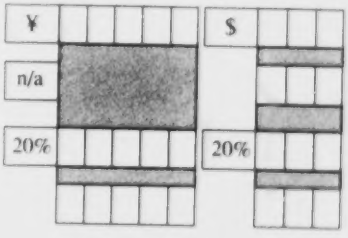

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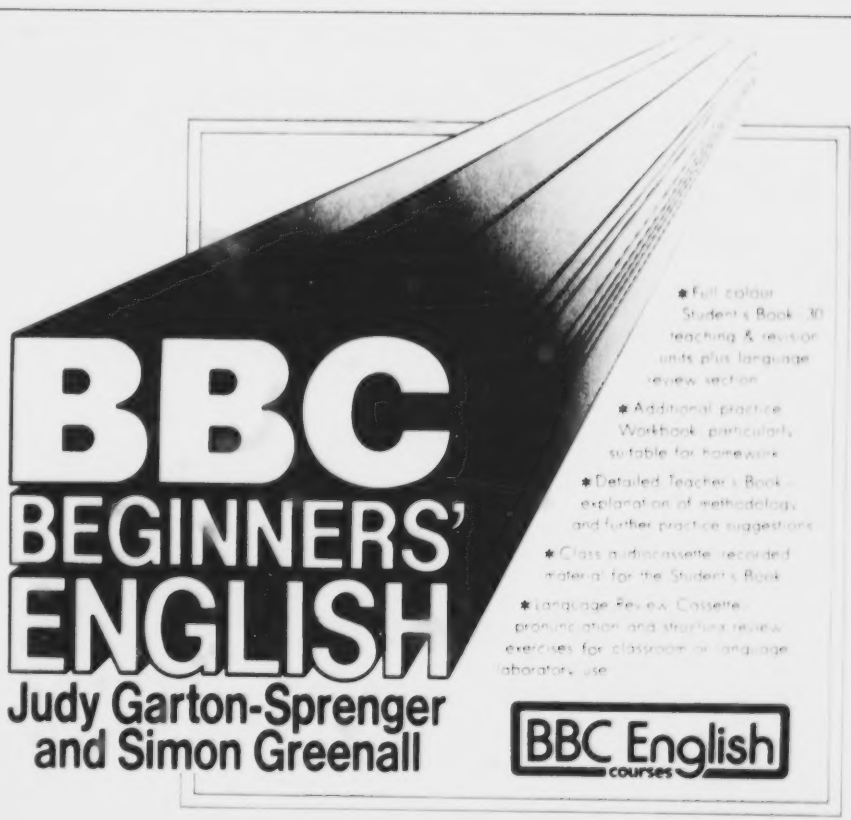
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